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THE

# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

## MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

VOLUME SIXTH.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

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N°. XVI.

NOVEMBER, 1817.

ART. I. *Lalla Rookh, an oriental Romance. By Thomas Moore.* Philadelphia, M. Thomas, 1817. 12mo, pp. 335.

WHATEVER may be Mr. Moore's rank, in this age of firm and healthy poetry, he has certainly contrived to make himself notorious and popular. As he has never stood in the way of his brethren, they have agreed very generally to live upon good terms with him--sometimes intimating, in a mincing way, that he is rather too much of a rake among the muses, but oftener extolling him for what he has achieved, and more especially for what he promises. Such an idolater of freedom, both within doors and without, could hardly fail to be a favourite with libertines and patriots. At carousals, he has been hailed as a sort of enchanter, who could mingle sentiment and enthusiasm with excesses, which heaven had made merely vulgar and sensual. Harlotry has found in him a bard to smooth her coarseness and veil her effrontery, to give her languor for modesty, and affectation for virtue. In short, though his poetry hitherto appears to have been little more than a mixture of musick, conceit and debauchery, he has certainly found favour every where; and there may be thousands, who have read him over and over again, with only faint shocks to their delicacy or consciences, who will yet think we are using very coarse language and much too plain dealing, towards a poet, who tells us the strangest of things in the sweetest of ways.

Further than this, he is thought by some to be a wild, luxurious bard, who is to pass through a generous and yet repressing culture, from the frolicks of blooming time, to a full, rich, and sober maturity--whose early licentiousness shews 'a leaning after the better affections'--whose impurity has its redeeming graces,--whose errours deserve merciful allowances, because they are on the side of sentiment and greatness. Now he is almost the last poet, for whom we should have thought of setting up the apology of a violent, overrunning nature. We have never lamented in him the oppression or waste of genius, nor the perversions of a fine spirit, whose abandoned gayety would one day mellow into warm-hearted cheerfulness, and its voluptuous excesses end in singleness and purity of love. He discloses no warm and eager aspiring after something higher and purer, with a promise of lending by and by to goodness, the graces and enthusiasm he had wasted upon vice. His mind never seems to be unconsciously wrong, from rapture, spontaneous overflow and impulses that will not be ruled. We can discover no depth in his contrition, nor desertion in his grief, nor involuntary glow and tenderness in his friendship.

And we may be allowed to express a doubt, whether his transgressions are quite consistent with powerful genius and deep feeling, with fine moral sensibility, and a religious love of nature. His voluptuousness appears to be the coldest thing in the world, as remote as possible from sudden and momentary fervour. It has not the spirit of wild, careless, social frolick, which burns and goes out in a night; the gay and passing frivolity of a mind in idleness. It is the business of his leisure and retirement, the creature and plaything of his imagination. He is at home and most heartily at work, when his subjects are licentious. His mind, instead of withering, seems freest and happiest in fine elaborations of impurity, in soiling what is fair, and then garnishing it. He sometimes ventures upon a loathsome anatomy and exposure; and if he had always done so, the mischief would have been less to himself and the reader, as both would have been shortly disgusted. There is no fear that truth will ever do harm. The evil is, that when vice is brought into poetry, its grossness and vulgar sufferings are kept very much out of sight. It is rarely picked up in the streets, and placed before you, with all the plain tokens of decay and dishonour

which nature has set upon it. Guilt is associated with kindly feelings, and placed in the midst of honourable dangers and sacrifices; it passes through deep intellectual agonies, and is made to exert a constant influence upon the happiness of the pure and lovely, whose affections it contrives to secure. The licentious appear merely to have thrown off the imprisonment of the staid and narrow prejudices of an earlier age, and to come out now into the open world, with free hearts, to feast upon its pleasures. The senses and appetites take the place of passion and sentiment, but the old phrases and allusions, which were so sweet and heart-breathing with the innocent, are still preserved by the impure. Though they renounce the severer morals and decencies, they have still an easy, flaunting virtue and romantick devotedness to beguile you with. You will hear of heaven in all their raptures; the eye, and smile, and blush are still eloquent. There are unkind wrongs and tender forgiveness, with tears and laments for a mistress in heaven. Even nature, with all its coolness and loveliness, must minister to impurity. Its fine forms and hues serve as images of personal beauty, its odorous winds for the fragrance of sighs, its holy seclusions for shelter from the eye and sun; and as for evening, when poetry and soberness were once allowed to walk forth, as if the hour were theirs, why

> 'None but the loving and the loved
> Should be awake at this sweet hour.'

You would suppose that the world was turning to Eden again, as man became the indolent worshipper of love, reposing in cool vallies, and piping voluptuous lays under bowers of myrtle. And all this illusion is managed with exquisite skill and delicacy. Sufficient care is taken to refine and set off the coarsest indulgences, without removing their earthiness—to mingle sensual and poetical joys till they shall qualify each other, that the one may not be too gross nor the other too pure—to throw over every thing one of Mr. Moore's luxurious twilights, which shall dim or soften whatever is holy or disgusting, and give it at the same time a hue of voluptuousness. It must not be supposed that this love-poetry tends to make men coarse by making them impure.

It would teach you rather, that 'vice loses half its evil by losing all its grossness.' It even countenances shame, though only enough to keep up a vicious eagerness for pleasure, by a faint consciousness that it is not quite blameless, and therefore must be secret. It allows of remorse too, so far as it may remind one vividly of the scenes and excesses he has gone through, without strengthening or forcing him to abandon them.

Mr. Moore may be very adroit at this work—he may call it poetry if he pleases; but he must allow us to infer from the pleasure he takes in it, that his mind is not of the loftiest character, nor ever under the influence of genuine enthusiasm and rapture. There does seem to be a natural alliance between genius and purity. A man, who can pass through his earliest years, with no love of intellectual dignity, no regret for the sins of his race, nor wish to make them better, unmoved, unchastened by the sweet influences of nature, and deliberately and almost perpetually employed, in disfiguring and degrading every thing pure in sentiment, or fair in creation, must be essentially wanting in some of the higher powers and perceptions of a truly poetical mind. He will never be lifted from the ground, nor forget for a moment the incumbrances of flesh and blood. Let him write upon any topick, the most heavenward in its influences, as simple and delicate as infancy itself, and there will be a stain of earth over the whole.—It is the custom with most criticks, who undertake Mr. Moore, first to read him a lecture upon his sins, and proceed forthwith to congratulate him upon his reformation. We should certainly follow their example throughout, did we not feel, even with the Gospel Melodies before us, that he is not yet quite restored. We may almost take up the words of his Peri against him;

> 'Some flowrets of Eden ye still inherit,
> But the trail of the serpent is over them all.'

We have intimated that Mr. Moore is artificial. With the most graceful facility of expression, with verse that sparkles and warbles through volumes, he is always exact, and polished,* never loose but in sentiment. A sort of

* We must except the slovenly versification of the first poem in Lalla Rookh. Mr. Moore appears here to have fallen into a childish imitation of the errours of cotemporary bards, who, he should have remembered, are much less indebted than himself to outward grace.

verbal beauty, a poetry of sound is sustained throughout, let the thought be ever so poor, or vulgar, and almost any thing may find its way to the heart, that glides thither so musically. We have found ourselves humming with most thoughtless complacency, that aerial verse;

'One blossom of heaven outblooms them all;'—

and there may be tenderer spirits, that have sung his less innocent lays, and thought that nothing impure could float upon such rich harmony. But so it is. The wind sweeps over the lyre, and there is exquisite minstrelsy, whether it steal with pestilence from the swamps, or 'as the sweet south, that breathes upon a bank of violets.'

But are we insensible to Mr. Moore's fancy? Certainly not—a more ingenious and indefatigable one we are unacquainted with—such an array of tropes and images may have never before been marshalled, even by the most downright oriental, as he has so beautifully set in order. Still we have a feeling to subdue within us, that these, for the most part, are mere ornaments and appendages—any thing but illustration or a poetical embodying of thought. They do not yield a warm, living illumination, that mingles naturally with the scenes it falls on, and is perceived only by the gladness and distinctness which it sheds. They are sought and finished with apparent diligence and anxiety, and instead of taking a subordinate place, they stand apart for independent notice and admiration, and glitter as if in pride of their own beauty. In many cases, the thought seems to be introduced, and in a particular shape and relation, for no other purpose than to justify some beautiful comparison. The image generally bears to the subject, which it pretends to illustrate, a cold, exact, quaint resemblance, affording, indeed, very pleasant surprises to those, who think the matter in hand too plain to need, or too poor to deserve illustration; but the imagination is quite still—it enjoys none of the associations, with which it is sometimes crowded by a single epithet, in its just place. On the contrary, the reason is made busy in following out the curious similitudes, and the exquisite art, with which the poet adapts them. And one must be under high poetical excitement, in the very humour to follow the subject, after stopping to try his ingenuity upon these gay conceits; and the artist must resume his

business with most absorbing zeal, after waiting so long and so happily to set a jewel. But in all probability there is no excitement on either side—the reader is looking for fanciful, artificial *prettinesses*, and the poet is busy in furnishing them.

We may expect to hear that these remarks are owing, after all, to our own insensibility to genuine warmth, and the colouring of beauty—that our taste, such at least as we have, is timid and cruel, too easily alarmed at violence and splendour. However this may be, the impression we have received from Mr. Moore's writings has always been, that his fervour, luxuriance and beauty, notwithstanding his easy flow of expression, are studied and artificial. The 'hurry and glow of composing,' the freedom of a full heart, have very unequivocal tokens, to make themselves known. No artifice can wholly conceal the expression of sincere feeling, and no artifice can absolutely imitate it. The distinction is essential and imperishable, between the burning language in which passion relieves itself, and that which is the mere substitute and hypocrisy of passion.—As for love, (without professing to be adepts that way,) we can readily comprehend the old fashioned criticism, that no man could hum upon it so elegantly and incessantly as Mr. Moore has done, who had ever known its inwardness and mute significance. But sometimes he assays to be seriously in love—he would be natural and tender, and touch you by that innocent vagueness of expression, which hides the want of feeling in the cold, and betrays its unutterableness in the ardent. But to us there is even here more of inanity than sentiment, of the Haram than the fire-side, of whine and effeminacy than of deep, self-sacrificing tenderness, and oftener perhaps than all, the elegant common places of gallantry, which a man whispers to those he does not respect, and is accustomed to flatter.

Mr. Moore has great ease and sprightliness of narrative, a graceful airiness in touching and leaving a subject, sufficient variety of thought, though too much sameness in the colouring, with verse that flows in perpetual song, and figures that scatter a sparkling brilliancy from beginning to end. This, certainly, is quite enough for modish poetry. He is never lost in the depths or fulness of his mind. He is rarely disturbed by great efforts; and if he venture at times beyond

the limits of the poetry, he has prescribed to himself as most congenial and manageable, he contrives to reduce his subject to such shape and proportions, as will allow him to play with it easily and gracefully. It appears to be his main object to do things elegantly, as if his readers were forever about him, and they too, perfectly fashionable and well drest. This disposition is especially manifest in his descriptions of external nature. The world is but dim and coarse in his eyes, and so he exhibits it in a sort of gay transparency, as if gairishness became it better than the vesture it received from its former, as if the array of the lily were not before all artificial glory. He delights in luxurious clusters of gorgeous, showy objects, upon which art has bestowed care and polish, more than in minute discriminations of nature in her simple, careless forms and colours and situations. He loves to tamper with creation and subdue it, even though he should make its serenity lifeless, its magnificence gaudy, and its wild grandeur trim and sedate. In a forest, we should expect to see him lead the vine about the rough trunks; smooth the roots with the ground and lay turf upon them; hang lights in the leaves, and stir them gently with sighs, while a ruder adventurer would love them in their own solemnity, as they rustled and glittered in the winds and moonlight. And yet he always glides along and works so gracefully, as if listening to musick, and offers so much to glance at, and so little to detain, that it is hardly possible to be wearied, even if we are never wholly satisfied. We must not expect him to make us better acquainted with nature, or more open to its moral and renovating influences by shewing us how the spirit of God still moves upon the work of his hands. We must look elsewhere for the remembered poetry, that mingles with our oldest and dearest thoughts, leaving enduring pictures with us, and sending thrills to the heart, that will never die.

We fear we shall never give Mr. Moore credit for a single excellence, nor feel in good humour with him, till we leave this general criticism, and come to particular passages. Perhaps we have gone so far in our censures, that we can hardly call him a poet now, or admit that he has a delicate perception of beauty, without falling into inconsistency. But he has certainly written enough fine poetry, to make one lament, that bad morals and taste should have drawn from him so much that is worthless. He is thought by some to

have been in a good way of late, especially in his Irish and Gospel Melodies, and nobody will dispute that the present work fulfils very honestly, any expectations, which those or any of his former pieces, could have reasonably inspired. He has probably begun to think seriously of a more creditable immortality than his younger poems could have purchased. And it is a little unfortunate that, just as he had set about improvement, he should have made the East his poetical home, where his old relish for unwedded love, and never ending conceits and brilliancy, may be regaled more than ever, and where the poet himself, in the guise of an eastern minstrel, is tempted, and with less hazard, to repeat his early transgressions.

The work before us gives a very pleasant story in prose, of the journey of Lalla Rookh, a princess of Hindostan, from Delhi to Cashmere, where she was to be met for the first time, and espoused by the young king of Bucharia, to whom she had been betrothed. At first, she found enough to delight her in the beauty and novelty of the scenes she was passing through, and as these faded, in the songs and dances of her attendants. Her diversions, however, were at last all exhausted, when it was recollected, that among the attendants, who had been sent by the bridegroom, was a young poet of Cashmere, on whom the king had conferred the privilege of being admitted to the pavilion of the princess, that he might beguile the tediousness of the way by recitals of eastern stories. It was natural that the princess should love the poet for his beauty and song, and that he should love her for her charms and sympathy. It was equally in the course of things, that she should discover in the sovereign at Cashmere the humble minstrel, who had won her heart on the way. The great chamberlain, Fadladeen, is a very important personage, through whom Mr. Moore communicates much pleasant criticism on his own work; and we only regretted seeing it, from our conviction that a man never thinks seriously of correcting a fault, which he anticipates others in exposing. The story is very short, and from time to time, interrupted by the minstrel, who, in the course of it, recites four distinct poems. These we shall proceed to notice.

We shall give an outline of the first, both because the story is a curiosity, and as we shall be able in this way to

introduce more conveniently the few passages we wish to extract. We shall avoid as much as possible the treasures of Eastern learning, by which the poet strives to illumine, and succeeds in burdening and disfiguring every poem in the book.

The Prophet of Khorassan, according to Fadladeen, is 'an ill-favoured gentleman, with a veil over his face,' flung there, as he pretended, to hide the miraculous glory of his brow, but in fact to conceal his hideousness. He seems to have been set against mankind a little after the manner of Richard.

> 'But turn and look—then wonder if thou wilt,
> That I should hate, should take revenge, by guilt,
> Upon the hand, whose mischief or whose mirth
> Sent me thus maim'd and monstrous upon earth;
> And on that race who, though more vile they be
> Than mowing apes, are demi-gods to me!
> Here—judge if hell, with all its power to damn,
> Can add one curse to the foul thing I am.' p. 48.

He appears first in his Divan, surrounded by a gorgeous array of awe-struck followers, for the purpose of receiving a young, enthusiastick proselyte, who had just returned from bondage in Greece, full of liberty and perfectibility. Azim makes his obeisance, and Mokanna, the Prophet, (who is a thorough French Jacobin, in every thing but his white flag,) harangues the multitude.

> '———————— this sword must first
> The darkling prison-house of mankind burst,
> Ere peace can visit them, or truth let in
> Her wakening day-light on a world of sin.
> But then celestial warriors, then when all
> Earth's shrines and thrones before our banner fall,
> When the glad slave shall at these feet lay down
> His broken chain, the tyrant lord his crown,
> The priest his book, the conqueror his wreath,
> And from the lips of truth one mighty breath
> Shall like a whirlwind, scatter in its breeze
> That whole dark pile of human mockeries;—
> Then shall the reign of mind commence on earth,
> And starting fresh, as from a second birth,
> Man in the sunshine of the world's new spring,
> Shall walk transparent like some holy thing.' p. 20.

He is equally ambitious to improve the condition of woman, and accordingly his Haram is supplied with the fairest

'from every beauteous race beneath the sun,' that he may give them a holy education, and make of them 'a young nursery for heaven.' In this 'galaxy of lips and eyes,' is a beautiful young maniac, who had entered the Haram in the rapturous belief, that she should be trained up there, to be the bride in paradise of a lover, whom she supposed to be dead. Her burning spirit is here wrought upon to her ruin, so that she even glories in being the honoured victim of Mokanna, fondly dreaming that in yielding to him, she gave herself to heaven. The real horrour of this is somewhat relieved by their private wedding in the charnel-house, where she binds herself to the prophet forever, over a bowl of 'red charnel wine.' It is further relieved by some unusual phenomena in Zelica's madness, for not only does her reason come and go at Mr. Moore's pleasure, but even while utterly deranged, she is at times a perfectly unconscious sinner, at others, the slave of zeal and ambition, aware of Mokanna's treachery and her own guilt, but afraid to amend her ways, because of her oath, and even hoping that her patient continuance in evil doing, will most effectually purify her spirit. This may be honest delirium, but we should not be surprised, if it were utter nonsense.

With her delirious raptures are mingled the fire and glare of something unholy. The picture of her dishonoured beauty is mournful enough; but Mr. Moore hangs over it with too much complacency.

'Light, lovely limbs, to which the spirit's play
Gave motion, airy as the dancing spray,
When from its stem the small bird wings away!
Lips, in whose rosy labyrinth, when she smil'd,
The soul was lost; and blushes, swift and wild
As are the momentary meteors sent
Across th' uncalm but beauteous firmament.
And then her look!—oh! where's the heart so wise,
Could unbewilder'd meet those matchless eyes?
Quick, restless, strange, but exquisite withal,
Like those of angels, just before their fall;
Now shadow'd with the shames of earth, now crost
By glimpses of the heaven her heart had lost;
In every glance there broke, without controul,
The flashes of a bright but troubled soul,
Where sensibility still wildly play'd.
Like lightning, round the ruins it had made.' p. 27.

Zelica and the rest of the 'sainted colony' were hidden spectators of Azim's publick reception, and she recognizes in the proselyte her long-lost lover, of whose heart, we may remember, she hoped to be more worthy in heaven, by the purifying influences of transgression upon earth,

'———————————— as perfumes rise,
Through flame and smoke, most welcome to the skies.' p. 30.

The sight of Azim restores her reason sufficiently to apprize her of her condition in the Haram, but not to confirm in her the purpose of virtue. Her oath in the charnel-house rushes over her, and buries her in darkness again. At this moment, she is summoned to attend Mokanna in his place of prayer, and as she was now, for the first time, slow in obeying the call, he has leisure to rail awhile at mankind for standing in awe of such a wretch as himself. There he lay, upon his couch in the cool 'garden oratory,' with soft lights around him, such as 'lovely maids look loveliest in,' covered with his silver veil, drinking largely of white wine and red, pondering in deep reverie, and then bursting out in the merriest and most vulgar abuse of human nature.

He has none of Timon's sad, vehement misanthropy, nor of Richard's malicious scorn and fine sarcasm, nor of Satan's proud vindictiveness and unguarded sorrow. He is, as we hinted before, a sour Jacobin, some low, clamorous ruffian, suddenly grown up to be a gentleman. His character exhibits, for a time, with considerable clearness and consistency, a combination of vile and prosperous insolence with lust and malignity—no very tempting compound, we admit, either in life or poetry, though it might require some skill, to form and preserve it. But Mr. Moore was too delicate an artist to rest satisfied with the close truth of a low, vicious character. Because the prophet was vigorous, cunning and fearless, he must needs be invested with grandeur, and become a finished gallant, a subtle poisoner of innocence and a sublime warriour. To render him still more poetical, Mr. Moore has made a desperate effort to give him the ferocious levity and deadly irony, which sometimes throw a gleam of frightful mirth over a dark and severe character, deepening its malignity and horrour, like the grim smile, that glares amidst the scowls and shadow, the solitude and midnight of the countenance. Mokanna, however, remains inflexibly vulgar, in spite of all that

Mr. Moore can do to heighten or rather mar his character. We may observe here, that he rarely looks upon a character as an individual, or a consistent whole. He appears to have certain prominent abstract qualities, virtues or vices, in store, which he has determined to attach to the first poetical personage, that comes in his way. He only wants an opportunity to bring them forward—it is of no concern to him whether the character hangs well together, is governed by any single principle, in a word, whether it has individuality or not. This may account for the singular incongruity of some of his characters and the ostentatious insignificance of others.—But to return.—

Poor Zelica, who has heard a good deal of the soliloquy, startles him at length by a piteous exclamation; but our prophet, recovering himself, turns to her with the wiliest gallantry of a modern rake, and begs her, for the sake of her soul and eyes, to take some inspiring juice, which Genii had brought him from the upper sphere,—for, that night, he must rely upon the power of her perfect beauty, to vanquish the virtue, as the world called it, of young Azim, and soften his heart for the reception of religious impressions. Her answer is a little too declamatory, but with an expression at times, of horrour, tenderness and despair.

'———————— Great God! to whom
I once knelt innocent, is this my doom?
Are all my dreams, my hopes of heavenly bliss,
My purity, my pride, then come to this,—
To live, the wanton of a fiend! to be
The pander of his guilt.' ———————— p. 38.

'And sunk, myself, as low as hell can steep
In its hot flood, drag others down as deep!
Others?—ha! yes—that youth who came to-day—
*Not* him I lov'd—not him'— p. 39.

'Must *he* too, glorious as he is, be driven
A renegade like me from love and heaven?
Like me? weak wretch, I wrong him—not like me;
No—he's all truth, and strength and purity!
Fill up your madd'ning hell-cup to the brim,
Its witchery, fiend, will have no charm for him.
Let loose your glowing wantons from their bowers,
He loves, he loves, and can defy their powers!
Wretch as I am, in *his* heart still I reign
Pure as when first we met.' ———————

'Far off to some benighted land I'll fly,
Where sunbeam ne'er shall enter till I die;
Where none will ask the lost one whence she came,
But I may fade and fall without a name!
And thou—curst man or fiend, whate'er thou art,
Who found'st this burning plague-spot in my heart,
And spread'st it,—Oh, so quick!—thro' soul and frame
With more than demon's art, till I became
A loathsome thing, all pestilence, all flame!—
If, when I'm gone ————————' p. 40.

The prophet breaks in, and repays her at first with the coarsest taunts, and then with harsh violence, like one who loves to crush the weak, and deride the sorrows of the proud as well as humble. And when he finds this unavailing, he subdues her by recalling her oath and the private wedding, assures her that he is a knave, favours her with a sight of his face, and all this to prevail upon her to seduce her own lover. Surely our prophet wants even the poor virtue of jealousy, as well as a moderate share of sagacity.

Mr. Moore is of course quite at home in the Haram, where we are detained some time, by Eastern luxuries of all sorts, from the arts of elegance to those of seduction.

The younger part of the sisterhood are out in the moonlight, gathering fresh chaplets for their heads, and there is something cool and innocent in their remembrance of home.

'Gay creatures! sweet, though mournful 'tis to see
How each prefers a garland from that tree,
Which brings to mind her childhood's innocent day,
And the dear fields and friendships far away.
The maid of India, blest again to hold
In her full lap the Champac's leaves of gold,
Thinks of the time, when, by the Ganges' flood,
Her little playmates scatter'd many a bud
Upon her long black hair, with glossy gleam
Just dripping from the consecrated stream.
While the young Arab, haunted by the smell
Of her own mountain flowers, as by a spell,
Sees, call'd up round her by these magic scents,
The well, the camels, and her father's tents;
Sighs for the home she left with little pain,
And wishes e'en its sorrows back again.' p. 47.

Mr. Moore should have dreaded the interview between Azim and Zelica. Nothing in the story offers more for poetry, but it called for real passion—it required a poet, who could understand the heart when it was in earnest, and lend it simple utterance. It was a time to throw aside all mockery, all consciousness of art, all the vanity of this world, and suffer passion to have entire sway, whether it poured in grief, or imploring remorse or perfect love.—Zelica swoons as she approaches Azim, and he, after slowly recognizing her, breathes in this strain, his sweetest consolation and sympathy.

> 'Come, look upon thy Azim—one dear glance,
> Like those of old, were heaven! whatever chance
> Hath brought thee here, Oh! 'twas a blessed one!
> There—my sweet lids—they move—that kiss hath run
> Like the first shoot of life through every vein,
> And now I clasp her, mine, all mine again!' p. 65.

To avert his desperate anguish, when he learns her fallen condition, she enters at once into an explanation of her conduct, but in a strain that partakes more of narrative tranquillity than of strong passion or subdued grief. She closes with as much resignation as we expected.

> 'Thou weep'st for me—do, weep—Oh! that I durst
> Kiss off that tear! but, no—these lips are curst,
> They must not touch thee;—one divine caress,
> One blessed moment of forgetfulness
> I've had within those arms, and *that* shall lie,
> Shrin'd in my soul's deep memory till I die!
> That last of joy's last relics here below,
> The one sweet drop in all this waste of wo,
> My heart has treasur'd from affection's spring,
> To sooth and cool its deadly withering!' p. 68.

Azim is nearly frantick, when she assures him that guilt has separated her from him forever—but he seems to have caught a little of her composed manner of speaking. We suspect they are both merely manufacturing verses, and thinking chiefly of some beautiful images which they are anxious to bring in.

> ''Zelica, Zelica!'—the youth exclaim'd,
> In all the tortures of a mind inflam'd
> Almost to madness—'by that sacred heaven,
> Where yet, if pray'rs can move, thou'lt be forgiv'n,

As thou art here—here, in this writhing heart,
All sinful, wild and ruin'd as thou art!
By the remembrance of our once pure love,
Which, like a church-yard light, still burns above,
The grave of our lost souls—which guilt in thee
Cannot extinguish, nor despair in me!
I do conjure, implore thee to fly hence—
If thou hast yet one spark of innocence,
Fly with me from this place,' '———— p. 69.

She accedes to the proposal with nearly as much ardour as Azim had shewn in making it. Her words are even breathless, if you will believe Mr. Moore.—For example.

' ———— with thee! oh bliss!
'Tis worth whole years of torment to hear this.
What! take the lost one with thee? let her rove
By thy dear side, as in those days of love,
When we were both so happy, both so pure—
Too heavenly dream! if there's on earth a cure
For the sunk heart, 'tis this,—day after day
To be the blest companion of thy way;—
To hear thy angel eloquence—to see
Those virtuous eyes forever turn'd on me;
And in their light rechasten'd silently,
Like the stain'd web that whitens in the sun,
Grow pure by being purely shone upon.' p. 70.

But Mokanna's voice is heard reminding her of her oath, which palsies her virtue at once, leaving her strength enough, however, to rush from her lover, after giving him a very particular account of her wedding in the charnel house. This wedding is in fact the spice of almost all the dialogue in the poem.

The Caliph is at length startled by the impious pretensions of the impostor, and comes out to overwhelm him. We find ourselves at once in the heart of his camp, and it is full of splendour and life.

'Whose are the gilded tents that crowd the way,
Where all was waste and silent yesterday?
This city of war which, in a few short hours,
Hath sprung up here, as if the magic powers
Of Him who, in the twinkling of a star,
Built the high pillar'd halls of Chilminar,
Had conjur'd up, far as the eye can see,
This world of tents and domes and sun-bright armory!

Princely pavilions, screen'd by many a fold
Of crimson cloth, and topp'd with balls of gold;
Steeds, with their housings, of rich silver spun,
Their chains and poitrels glittering in the sun;
And camels, tufted o'er with Yemen's shells
Shaking in every breeze their light-ton'd bells!
But yester-eve, so motionless around,
So mute was this wide plain, that not a sound
But the far torrent, or the locust-bird
Hunting among the thickets, could be heard;
Yet hark! what discords now of every kind,
Shouts, laughs, and screams are revelling in the wind!
The neigh of cavalry; the tinkling throngs
Of laden camels and their drivers' songs;
Ringing of arms, and flapping in the breeze
Of streamers from ten thousand canopies;
War-music, bursting out from time to time
With gong and tymbalon's tremendous chime;
Or, in the pause, when harsher sounds are mute,
The mellow breathings of some horn or flute;
That far off, broken by the eagle note
Of th' Abyssinian trumpet, swell and float.' p. 74.

The battle inclines at first to the side of the prophet, when Azim suddenly appears in the ranks of the caliph, and sweeps before him the hosts of the unfaithful. There is grandeur in Mokanna's unmoveableness during the rout of his army.

'In vain Mokanna, midst the general flight,
Stands, like the red moon, on some stormy night
Among the fugitive clouds that, hurrying by,
Leave only her unshaken in the sky!' p. 81.

His ferocity is as terrible and as strongly given.

'——— the sole joy his baffled spirit knows
In this forc'd flight, is—murdering as he goes!
As a grim tiger, whom the torrent's might,
Surprises in some parch'd ravine at night,
Turns, e'en in drowning, on the wretched flocks
Swept with him in that snow-flood from the rocks,
And, to the last, devouring on his way,
Bloodies the stream he hath not power to stay! p. 82.

The prophet is compelled to shut himself up in a walled city, and there, after practising several impostures upon his

surviving adherents, to keep up their faith and zeal, he invites them to a feast, where he promises to unfold his miraculous face, and then turn it upon the foe, to smite him 'like a sunstroke of the desert.' He prudently poisons them all before unveiling, and laughs at them in their agonies. Zelica, whose only charm now is, that she is his victim, is summoned by a dying messenger, to witness the spectacle, and partake of the beverage.

> '———— By the glimmering light,
> Of the pale dawn, mix'd with the flare of brands
> That round lay burning, dropp'd from lifeless hands,
> She saw the board in splendid mockery spread,
> Rich censers breathing—garlands overhead—
> The urns, the cups, from which they late had quaff'd,
> All gold and gems, but what had been the draught?
> Oh! who need ask, that saw those livid guests,
> With their swoll'n heads sunk black'ning on their breasts,
> Or looking pale to heaven, with glassy glare.' &c. p. 97.

The prophet continues anxious about his personal attractions to the last, and that the enemy may not have a sight of him, dead or alive, he plunges into a cistern of burning drugs, which utterly consume him. Zelica, not having drunk quite enough poison, is left the only living thing in the city. She puts on the prophet's veil, and approaches the enemy to invite a death wound. This she receives from Azim—upon which a suitable explanation follows, and the matter is ended.—For Mr. Moore's sake, we hope this story is founded in fact. Human nature is much better able than he to bear the weight of its absurdity. This is, we believe, his first attempt at the violent and awful in poetry, and if it is a fair specimen of his talent that way, he cannot hurry back too fast to his marvellous ballads, where it is no sin to turn the terrible into the ridiculous. We need not try to soften this, by adding that the poem has powerful passages—we wish it had more, and that its materials, which are often fine, had been better wrought.

We have next a short, unpretending, delicate poem, 'Paradise and the Peri,' in which Mr. Moore is quite at his ease, as the matter itself is light, and the strong heroick verse, which tried him so sorely before, is here given up for the gay and varied measure in which he has rejoiced all

his life. He acquaints us here with the travels of some aerial creature, which lives upon perfumes, in search of a gift that might propitiate heaven, and regain for her the blissful seat which her race had forfeited. She carries first the blood of a patriot, but in vain—the farewell sigh of self-sacrificing love, and still fails—but the tear of repentance, the offering of a broken and contrite heart, is accepted and with it the enraptured Peri. We must pass this over, not because it wants beauty or invention, nor, as our readers may begin to think, because it has nothing for us to find fault with—but we must spare a little room for a few extracts from Mr. Moore's finest work.

The story of the Fire-worshippers is perfectly simple and direct, with few characters and incidents, and almost every thing in it conspiring to exhibit the stern and melancholy patriotism of a Persian hero, and the unfortunate loves of himself and an Arabian beauty. The Fire-worshippers were 'those original natives of Iran or Persia, who adhered to their ancient faith, the religion of Zoroaster.' The poem gives us one of their fruitless struggles against their Arab masters. Al Hassan, the Arabian leader, is accompanied by his daughter, and for safety had placed her in a 'bower of freshness,' upon a rough and bold steep. She is, however, discovered there by Hafed, the chieftain of the enemy, and as difficulties are only love's incentives in the ages of rapture, he soon finds his way to her bower and heart. Hinda is ignorant that her lover is a Fire-worshipper, the foe of her father and faith. She comes slowly to the knowledge of this, and betrays so much alarm when she thinks of his danger, that her father determines to send her back to Arabia. Hafed encounters the bark on its way, and carries Hinda to his fastness in the mountains, where she informs him that his retreat would be invaded that night by her father, who had learnt its approaches from a traitor. He sends her out of the reach of danger—the battle follows, and Hafed, the last survivor, kindles the funeral pyre, which he had raised near the shrine of the sun, and throws himself into the flame. Hinda witnesses this from the bark to which she had been conveyed, and plunges into the wave.

The description of Hafed's retreat on the mountain is novel and distinct. Mr. Moore rarely gives a picture that has so much of truth and originality, and takes such entire

possession of the imagination. It may be well to connect with this description, the conveyance of Hinda to her lover's retreat.

'There stood—but one short league away
From old Harmozia's sultry bay—
A rocky mountain o'er the sea
Of Oman beetling awfully.
A last and solitary link
Of those stupendous chains that reach
From the broad Caspian's reedy brink
Down winding to the Green-Sea beach.
Around its base the bare rocks stood,
Like naked giants, in the flood,
As if to guard the gulf across;
While, on its peak that brav'd the sky,
A ruin'd temple tower'd, so high
That oft the sleeping albatross
Struck the wild ruins with her wing,
And from her cloud-rock'd slumbering
Started—to find man's dwelling there
In her own silent fields of air!
Beneath, terrifick caverns gave
Dark welcome to each stormy wave
That dash'd, like midnight revellers, in;
And such the strange, mysterious din
At times throughout those caverns roll'd,
And such the fearful wonders told
Of restless sprites imprison'd there,
That bold were Moslem, who would dare,
At twilight hour, to steer his skiff
Beneath the Gheber's lonely cliff.

On the land side, those towers sublime,
That seem'd above the grasp of time,
Were sever'd from the haunts of men
By a wide, deep and wizard glen,
So fathomless, so full of gloom,
No eye could pierce the void between;
It seem'd a place where Gholes might come
With their foul banquets from the tomb,
And in its caverns feed unseen.
Like distant thunder, from below,
The sound of many torrents came;
Too deep for eye or ear to know
If 'twere the sea's imprison'd flow,
Or floods of ever-restless flame.' p. 177, 178.

'The day is lowering—stilly black
Sleeps the grim wave, while heaven's rack
Dispers'd and wild, 'twixt earth and sky
Hangs like a shatter'd canopy!
There's not a cloud in that blue plain
But tells of storm to come or past;
Here, flying loosely as the mane
Of a young war-horse in the blast;
There, roll'd in masses dark and swelling,
As proud to be the thunder's dwelling!
Whilst some, already burst and riven,
Seem melting down the verge of heaven;
As though the infant storm had rent
The mighty womb that gave him birth,
And, having swept the firmament,
Was now in fierce career for earth.
On earth 'twas yet all calm around,
A pulseless silence, dread profound,
More awful than the tempest's sound.
The diver steer'd for Ormus' bowers,
And moor'd his skiff till calmer hours;
The sea-birds, with portentous screech,
Flew fast to land; upon the beach
The pilot oft had paus'd, with glance
Turn'd upward to that wild expanse;
And all was boding, drear and dark
As her own soul, when Hinda's bark
Went slowly from the Persian shore—' p. 191, 192.

Hafed is now out in his bark, and the two vessels are driven together in a furious storm.

'So wholly had her mind forgot
All thoughts but one, she heeded not
The rising storm—the wave that cast
A moment's midnight, as it passed—
Nor heard the frequent shout, the tread
Of gathering tumult o'er her head—
Clash'd swords and tongues that seem'd to vie
With the rude riot of the sky.
But hark!—that war-whoop on the deck—
That crash, as if each engine there,
Mast, sails, and all were gone to wreck,
Mid yells and stampings of despair!
Merciful heaven! what can it be?
'Tis not the storm, though fearfully

The ship has shudder'd as she rode
O'er mountain waves.'

'When hark!—a second crash—a third—
And now, as if a bolt of thunder,
Had riv'n the labouring planks asunder,
The deck falls in—what horrours then!
Blood, waves, and tackle, swords and men
Come mix'd together through the chasm.'

'The yawning deck—the crowd that strove
Upon the tottering planks above—
The sail, whose fragments shivering o'er
The strugglers' heads, all dash'd with gore,
Flutter'd like bloody flags—the clash
Of sabres, and the lightning's flash
Upon their blades, high toss'd about,
Like meteor brands.' p. 196, 197.

**Hinda is saved from the wreck, and carried senseless into Hafed's bark.**

'How calm, how beautiful comes on
The stilly hour, when storms are gone;
When warring winds have died away,
And clouds, beneath the glancing ray,
Melt off, and leave the land and sea
Sleeping in bright tranquillity,—
Fresh as if day again were born,
Again upon the lap of morn!
When the light blossoms, rudely torn
And scatter'd at the whirlwind's will,
Hang floating in the pure air still,
Filling it all with precious balm,
In gratitude for this sweet calm,—
And every drop the thunder-showers
Have left upon the grass and flowers
Sparkles, as 'twere that lightning-gem
Whose liquid flame is born of them!
When, 'stead of one unchanging breeze,
There blow a thousand gentle airs,
And each a different perfume bears,—
As if the loveliest plants and trees
Had vassal breezes of their own
To watch and wait on them alone,
And waft no other breath than theirs.
When the blue waters rise and fall,
In sleepy sunshine mantling all;

And ev'n that swell the tempest leaves
Is like the full and silent heaves
Of lover's hearts, when newly blest,
Too newly to be quite at rest!

Such was the golden hour, that broke
Upon the world, when Hinda woke
From her long trance, and heard around
No motion but the water's sound
Rippling against the vessel's side,
As slow it mounted o'er the tide.—' p. 198, 199.

' Shuddering she look'd around—there lay
A group of warriors in the sun
Resting their limbs, as for that day
Their ministry of death were done.
Some gazing on the drowsy sea,
Lost in unconscious reverie;
And some, who seem'd but ill to brook
That sluggish calm, with many a look
To the slack sail impatient cast,
As loose it flagg'd around the mast.' p. 200.

' But now the bark, with livelier bound,
Scales the blue wave—the crew's in motion—
The oars are out, and with light sound
Break the bright mirror of the ocean,
Scattering its brilliant fragments round.
And now she sees—with horror sees
Their course is tow'rd that mountain hold
Those towers, that make her life-blood freeze.' p. 202.

' Their bounding bark drew near
The craggy base, she felt the waves
Hurry them tow'rd those dismal caves
That from the deep in windings pass
Beneath that mount's volcanic mass—
And loud a voice on deck commands
To lower the mast and light the brands!—
Instantly o'er the dashing tide
Within a cavern's mouth they glide,
Gloomy as that eternal porch,
Through which departed spirits go;—
Not ev'n the flare of brand and torch
Its flickering light could further throw
Than the thick flood that boil'd below.
Silent they floated—as if each
Sat breathless, and too aw'd for speech

In that dark chasm, where even sound
Seem'd dark,—so sullenly around
The goblin echoes of the cave
Mutter'd it o'er the long black wave.
As 'twere some secrets of the grave!
But, soft—they pause—the current turns
Beneath them from its onward track;—
Some mighty, unseen barrier spurns
The vexed tide, all foaming, back.
And scarce the oar's redoubled force
Can stem the eddy's whirling force;—
When, hark!—some desperate foot has sprung
Among the rocks—the chain is flung—
The oars are up—the grapple clings,
And the toss'd bark in moorings swings.' p. 203, 204.

They ascend the mountain.

'——— The steepy labyrinth led
Through damp and gloom—'mid crash of boughs,
And fall of loosen'd crags that rouse
The leopard from his hungry sleep,
Who, starting, thinks each crag a prey,
And long is heard from steep to steep,
Chasing them down their thundering way!
The jackal's cry—the distant moan
Of the hyæna, fierce and lone;—
And that eternal, saddening sound
Of torrents in the glen beneath,
As 'twere the ever dark profound
That rolls beneath the bridge of death!' p. 205.

It would be as idle to praise such poetry as this, as to point out its peculiar beauties. In parts, the thought and manner remind us of something we have seen elsewhere, and yet the effect is not lessened.

In the 'Light of the Haram,' the only remaining poem, we have a lover's quarrel, with the reconciliation. The parties are the emperour and his favourite—the time and scene are the Feast of Roses, in the valley of Cashmere. The poem is one of our old fashioned Aprils—rain and sunshine, cool tears and soft gayety. There is besides, much of Mr. Moore's peculiar luxury of description. But how is it, that he cannot bring love and nature together, without some wanton association? Take the description of the valley.

'Oh! to see it at sunset, when warm o'er the lake
Its splendour at parting a summer eve throws,

Like a bride, full of blushes, when ling'ring to take
A last look of her mirror at night ere she goes!'
'Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
Hills, cupolas, fountains, call'd forth every one
Out of darkness, as they were just born of the sun.
When the spirit of fragrance is up with the day,
From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away;
And the wind, full of wantonness, woos like a lover
The young aspen-trees till they tremble all over.' p. 248, 249.

We will close with a picture of personal beauty, which we doubt not Mr. Moore would call the finest in the book.

'There's a beauty, forever unchangingly bright,
Like the long, sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till love falls asleep in its sameness of splendour.
This *was* not the beauty—oh! nothing like this,
That to young Nourmahal gave such magic of bliss;
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days,
Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lips to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes,
Now melting in mist and now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint has of heav'n in his dreams!
When pensive, it seem'd as if that very grace,
That charm of all others, was born with her face,
And when angry, for ev'n in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the flowers sometimes—
The short, passing anger but seem'd to awaken
New beauty, like flow'rs that are sweetest when shaken.
If tenderness touch'd her, the dark of her eye
At once took a darker, a heavenlier dye,
From the depth of whose shadow, like holy revealings
From innermost shrines, came the light of her feelings!
Then her mirth—oh! 'twas sportive as ever took wing
From the heart with a burst, like the wild-bird in spring;
Illum'd by a wit that would fascinate sages,
Yet playful as Peris just loos'd from their cages.
While her laugh, full of life, without any control,
But the sweet one of gracefulness, rung from her soul;
And where it most sparkled no glance could discover,
In lip, cheek or eyes, for she brighten'd all over,
Like any fair lake that the breeze is upon,
When it breaks into dimples and laughs in the sun.'
p. 254, 255.

There is some difficulty in plainly setting out Mr. Moore's failures, for the very reason that he is seldom *decidedly* bad. He wants the *unreserved* faults as well as excellences of a free and intrepid mind. The very elaboration, which mars his beauties, takes off their nativeness, and gives most of his pictures an artificial, unsatisfying sameness, serves also to soften or obscure his defects. Where the thought fails altogether, he attempts to make up for it by a sort of verbal stress, earnestness and flow—there are musical combinations of phrases in his merest expletives—he never has an undress for fine thoughts, nor any thing short of costly apparel for those which are every-day and common. It comes of this, no doubt, that we read him with so little variety of feeling, such an evenness of interest, without offence and without rapture.

We had something to say of the songs, with which three of the poems are interspersed, and of the disadvantages under which one labours, who travels to a distant country, by books only, for scenes, characters, sentiments, and all his poetical materials. But we are obliged to take an abrupt leave of our poet, having read his book and pursued our labour with very little satisfaction, and with a conviction, all along, that he might, but never will, do better.

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ART. II. *The Friend of Peace, No. 1—8. By Philo Pacificus.* Boston, Cummings & Hilliard.

THIS is a series of publications, issued by a member of the Peace Society of Massachusetts, and intended to direct the publick to a more attentive consideration of the subject of war. It is somewhat remarkable, that this society has received less encouragement and is in general looked upon with a less favourable eye, than any other of the charitable and benevolent institutions that have lately been established here in such numbers. We are unwilling to believe for a moment, that this disinclination to the Peace Society can be at all connected with one feature in it, which ought rather to operate in its favour—we mean the circumstance that the plan originated among ourselves, and was not, like most of these institutions, borrowed from England. In this case our plan

has been borrowed by the English, and a Peace Society, similar to that of Massachusetts, has been organized at London. In point of publick patronage it has, however, shared the fate of the parent society here. While many pretendedly charitable and benevolent societies, whose objects are very equivocal, not to say dangerous, in the view of an enlightened thinker, are largely encouraged and loudly applauded, the Peace Society, which *can* produce nothing but good, and *may* produce very great good, is disregarded or ridiculed. Why this is so in Great Britain, it is not difficult to discover. Her government, like every government of the same description, is essentially military, and the class of people that direct publick opinion, and more especially that patronize publick institutions, have an immediate personal interest in keeping up the military system. Her power over her colonies, her influence on the continent, and in fact her aristocratical establishments at home, all rest on the basis of military power in the dominant part of the nation. This is distinctly perceived by those who take a correct view of the subject and felt by a sort of instinct through the whole circle of dependants and supporters. Hence such men as Mr. Wilb rforce and his friends, who were willing to devote their lives to the cause of the Africans—and a noble cause it certainly was—have not a word to say in favour of a project tending to discourage the military spirit and bring about, if such a thing should ever be found practicable, a cessation of the custom of international war. And yet it is impossible but that they and every other friend of humanity must wish well to such a project. '*It is not that they love Cesar less, but that they love Rome more.*' In delivering the Africans from bondage, one of their motives—we may say one of their *honourable* motives—no doubt was that England would derive from the abolition of the slave trade, the glory of a humane and magnanimous policy. They could act at once the parts of lovers of their country and friends of mankind. Now these motives are disjoined, and the latter is found to be the less prevalent of the two.

With us, however, these two motives are united in favour of encouraging the plan before us. Our institutions are in their nature pacifick. Offensive war is in all cases directly against our interest—and in the offensive part of defensive war, we shall always labour under a disadvantage in com-

parison with nations that tolerate extensive military establishments. Hence every thing that tends to make a pacifick policy general among nations, has a direct bearing for our particular advantage. And hence, whatever we do from a motive of general humanity and benevolence to encourage the prevalence of peace, will afford us the additional satisfaction of promoting at the same time, the immediate and peculiar interest of our own country. We propose now to submit a few remarks upon the general subject with a view to contribute the little that lies in our power, towards the removal of such prejudices, as may exist in the minds of some against the Peace Society, and towards its general success. We shall first make one or two preliminary observations, upon certain errours, into which the friends of this society have permitted themselves to be drawn, and which may have had considerable influence in obstructing its progress.

The first of these errours, that we shall notice, is the opinion entertained and practised upon by some who have written upon this subject, that it was expedient or necessary to support the cause by pointing out particularly the supposed inconvenience and injustice of our late war with England. Now the effect of this is in the first place very disadvantageous, as it indisposes at once the minds of a large portion of the community to the whole business, and secondly the opinion itself is not philosophical. While the military system exists among nations, every consistent and rational friend of peace, however enthusiastick he may be in the cause, must admit that there may be some necessary and defensive wars. It is the system itself, which is the proper subject of attack. Now the war in question may or not have been one of this character, and this is a question into which the Peace Society and its friends are not compelled to inquire, the discussion of it being quite disconnected with their objects.

It is proper to observe, that in the pamphlets before us, there appears a disposition to keep the interest of the society entirely distinct from party politics—and in general, the temper of the times is such at present that there is no material damage to be apprehended from this quarter. We have, however, thought it proper just to indicate the danger for the consideration of such as may discuss the subject at this or at a future time, when there may perhaps be more

excitement than there is now. It is also as well to remark, that though some have, in supporting the Peace Society, introduced topicks and opinions considered as federal, the republican party are, we believe, by their principles, at least as much interested in the success of the project as the other—since its general features coincide exactly with their views of the danger of great military establishments and consolidated authority in the civil magistracy. These observations we hope to have made, without offending the friends of either political party, both which it is the direct interest, and we presume the strong wish of the society to conciliate as much as possible.

The other point, upon which we wish to make some preliminary remarks, is the impropriety of connecting the objects of the society with the opinions of particular individuals respecting the lawfulness of self-defence. Some persons we know consider it illegal and unchristian to take the life of another in the strictest self-defence, even when the sacrifice of our own must be the consequence of forbearance. We have ourselves heard people, apparently respectable and sincere, declare that if they themselves, or to make the case still stronger, their friend or father were attacked by a highwayman, they should feel it a duty not to stand upon the defensive to such an extent as to put the life of the assailant in danger; but should rather wait for an interposition of Providence in their behalf. This opinion, however plausible it may appear to some, is in the view of others downright nonsense, and we confess ourselves to be of this number,—we should therefore wish to see the defence of the Peace Society and the efforts made to effect its objects kept quite clear of such ridiculous enthusiasm as this. No reasonable man can entertain any doubts of his right to defend his own life against unjust violence, and in fact any other mode of conduct amounts to suicide. The principle for which such enthusiasts contend would, to be sure, if established, be a very effectual preventive of war; but this is not the sort of assistance that we want. Admitting in its full extent the right of personal and national self-defence as generally acknowledged, there will remain sufficiently strong grounds for disapproving the practice of war and attempting to abolish it; and we shall now proceed to make a few observations upon,

1. The real character of war.

2. The practicability of putting an end to it.

3. The probable effect of Peace Societies in promoting this object.

1. The character of war varies very much in different stages of society. Fighting merely for the love of it, appears to be the amusement and occupation of all barbarous nations. The historical annals of every people, that has any, bear witness to this. Every newly discovered island confirms it. Wherever you find men in any quarter of the globe, you are sure to find them at war; no matter what their habits and character may be in other respects. The gentlest and the most ferocious appear to possess this taste in equal perfection. Even the indolent and voluptuous Otaheitans, and the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands, represented as the mildest and most amiable of the human race, have their natural and national enemies, with whom they carry on a series of continual wars, as perseveringly, as conscientiously and as patriotically as the French and English. Why this is so is certainly a curious subject of inquiry. No doubt if a particular examination were made with regard to each individual war that occurs even among the most barbarous tribes, some pretence of dispute between the parties would be alleged as the moving cause. But if we look at the matter philosophically, it is obvious enough that these unimportant differences are not the real reason why the wars are waged. They are only pretences which it is thought necessary to urge as a matter of form, or at best a sort of signals, to notify the parties that they are now at liberty to commence an operation that they love from other causes. We may come to this conclusion with the same certainty, that we should in private life with regard to two individuals who were constantly engaged in disputes and quarrels. In every instance they have some supposed injury to complain of, but the real difficulty is their own quarrelsome disposition. Are we to attribute the continual wars among barbarous tribes to an innate hostility of man to man, with Hobbes, or must we seek for motives in the love of excitement or the love of distinction? However this may be, the general conclusion in point of fact is, that war is almost the only occupation of savage nations.

As refinement advances, the arts of peace are introduced. War ceases to be the only business and takes its place as one of the number of the ordinary and regular occupations of so-

ciety. At this period the manner of conducting it is improved and humanized and reduced to a system of rules, sanctioned by public opinion, to which individuals naturally submit.—Prisoners, instead of being made slaves or put to death, are treated with marked courteousness and exchanged. Private property is in some cases respected. Ambassadours are acknowledged as sacred and in general the belligerent parties pique themselves upon adopting a generous demeanour towards each other. In short, the refinement and polish that pervade all parts of the social machine, communicate themselves to war, as well as to the rest. If however we examine the causes of wars at this period of society, we shall find reason to apply to them exactly the same remark, that we have made upon those of an earlier one. In each particular case there is now, as there was then, some complaint made of wrong that has been suffered or some doubtful point put forward as being in dispute between the parties. But considering the immense disproportion between the value of the interests at stake and the sacrifices of every kind made in the course of the war, it is perfectly clear that we must look somewhere else for the real causes. It is obvious that the parties are urged on by the impulse of some interest or passion entirely independent of the supposed point at issue. In many cases this is so clear as to be quite indisputable. When for example Frederick the Great seizes Silesia and alleges certain antiquated pretensions to it, which have not the shadow of real justice—when Bonaparte, previously to his invasion of Russia, musters up his pretended list of grievances, we see at once that these allegations are almost avowedly formal. And though in some other cases there may really appear to be some doubtful interest of considerable importance in agitation between the parties, the disproportion is still so great between the value of the thing sought and the sacrifices made to obtain it, that it is quite certain, this is not the real reason of the war.

However uncertain it may be to what motive we are to attribute the disposition to hostility in uncivilized nations, there can be no great difficulty in assigning to its true causes the frequency of wars in the present state of society. These causes are unquestionably the existence of the military profession in the social system as one of the principal avenues to fortune and fame, the toleration of war in publick opinion as a

part of this system, and the applause bestowed upon those, who distinguish themselves in military operations. The existence of the military profession as one of the regular occupations of society is a legacy bequeathed to us from those ages when fighting was the only employment, and the way in which it keeps up the habit of war among nations is perfectly obvious. This being one of the professions, a certain portion of every generation as they enter upon the stage of life, devote themselves to it for a subsistence. The ardent and powerful take the lead, and in order to distinguish themselves and acquire the fame and fortune that they covet, they must have war. In proportion to the importance of this profession in any particular state, its influence will have effect in regulating the publick affairs. In all the governments, both of ancient and modern Europe, this influence has always predominated over all others. If circumstances place the direction of publick affairs naturally in the hands of one of these military spirits he becomes a conqueror and directs the whole energies of his country to the destruction of his neighbours.—These wars in their mildest form are only struggles between the military professions of the two countries, carried on to be sure at the expense of the people, and accompanied by great destruction of private property. No national interest is at stake, and nations as bodies politick have really nothing to do with them but to suffer from them. Sometimes the struggle becomes more general and almost every individual is compelled to stake his life and whole fortune upon the issue. In either case the moving causes remain the same.

We are therefore to look upon war not as a method of adjusting disputes among nations, although it has this ostensible aspect and is so spoken of in declarations and manifestoes. In this sense it would be liable to all the ridicule of the ancient and exploded system of judicial combat, in which God was considered as giving victory to the side of justice. We are to consider it as nothing more than an unfortunate custom, that had its origin in times of barbarism, and is kept in existence at a period of society, with the character and manners of which it is entirely at variance, by being made the occupation of a distinct corps or profession in the state, and encouraged and justified by publick opinion.

On these principles we are to form our opinion of the justice or injustice of particular wars and of the characters of indi-

viduals who have distinguished themselves in the military profession. The morality or immorality of an action depends entirely upon the opinion of the agent with regard to it. If he thinks himself right, he is right, because he is bound at every moment to act according to his sincere conviction at the time, however faulty he may be in another respect in not sufficiently enlightening his conscience. Now when we consider how much publick opinion regulates our moral notions, we ought not to judge very hardly of the character of an individual who acts up to the moral standard of his age and country. However barbarous and bloody a thing war may be in itself, and however as a custom it may be worthy of all execration, we are not to judge of the authors of any particular war precisely on the same ground, but are to inquire whether they acted up to the spirit of the times, whether they made war for those purposes for which it is generally resorted to, and in the manner in which it is generally carried on. A wise statesman, though too familiar with the subject or too much carried away by the current of contemporary politics, to avoid war entirely, will shew his judgment in resorting to it as seldom as possible. A generous spirit, though insensible by habit to the every day cruelties of the military profession, will display itself by mitigating and alleviating them as much as possible in particular instances. The same sort of charity should be extended to the class of men called conquerors as to the other members of the military profession. They, like the rest, only follow the lead of publick opinion and prove themselves either more fortunate or more powerful than their brother soldiers. The motives of them all for fighting are in general about the same. Take for instance Bonaparte and Wellington, and you find their characters (independently of some particular actions, which have been attributed to the former,) substantially alike. Both are devoted by their friends to the military profession, before they are able themselves to form an opinion of its character. Both are men of high minds and indefatigable activity, and rise of course to the first honours of that profession that circumstances place within their reach. They pursue the military life as an occupation, and the justice or injustice of the wars they are engaged in is probably the last thing that enters into the minds of either.

The real thing therefore to be considered is the publick opinion that tolerates this profession and the establishments con-

nected with it; and while we extend a reasonable and proper charity to individuals, we are at full liberty to condemn, as directly and pointedly as we please, the custom itself.

But is it not necessary sometimes in self-defence? This is the ground on which it is placed by Grotius and the civilians; and with respect to this it may be observed, that there is probably more or less justice, which is all that can be meant in this case by necessity, on one side or other in *every* war. But taking the subject generally it is too absurd to suppose that war is a necessary part of the social system, and that nations could not get along without it, when the great wonder seems to be how they are able to exist at all with it.

We have shewn already that military conquerors are formed by the operation of the publick opinion in favour of the profession. Were it not for this they would not feel the desire or have the means of carrying on offensive operations, and there would of course be no necessity of defensive operations to meet them. In whatever light we regard the subject we still return to the same point as the source of the evil. Some have said, that if civilized nations should lay aside the military system, they would be subject to the inroads of barbarians, who would overwhelm them, as the Northern hordes did the Roman Empire. They would be an easy prey, it is said, to the first comer. This, however, is clearly a futile objection. The world is now explored, and we know that no such danger exists. *On sait*, says Rousseau, *que ce prémier venu ne viendra jamais.*

War then, in its real character, is a vicious custom indefensible on any rational grounds, bequeathed to us by barbarous ancestors, and maintained in society by being made a separate profession, and by the support and encouragement of publick opinion. We now come to the second point: viz.

2. *The practicability of putting an end to the custom of war.* This point resolves itself into two branches; the possibility and the probability of effecting the object in question.

The first inquiry is, is it *possible* in the nature of things that the custom of war should be eradicated? And this we see no good reason to answer in the negative. War is a *vicious custom*—that is, a particular form, in which vicious dispositions exhibit themselves. Now we cannot conceive of the

absolute *impossibility* of eradicating any particular vicious habit, however deep-rooted and general it may be—and however difficult may be the attempt to remove it. Vice we know will always display itself in some form or other, until the human character undergoes a radical change; and therefore it is sometimes pretended, that wars will never come to an end. But does it follow, because vice itself cannot be removed, that there is no prospect of success in the attack of one particular form of vicious practices? This is not the sort of reasoning that we apply in other cases. Individual immoralities are also particular forms of vicious practice, and we might just as well argue from the same grounds, that it is absolutely impossible to remove them, and quite useless to do any thing with a view to that object. In regard to these, it may in fact be considered next to impossible that the object can be effected—at least we think the improbability of eradicating entirely any particular form of individual vice that may be mentioned, for instance, drunkenness, much greater than that of putting an end to wars. Yet we institute societies, write books, and preach sermons to discourage intemperance. Why should not the same thing be done with regard to war, however great we may consider the improbability of effecting a complete reformation? The reason why there is a greater probability of removing this national vice than of reforming the world in regard to individual vicious indulgences is obvious. The latter are commonly accompanied with an immediate pleasure, which acts as an incentive to the transgression of duty. War is, in its nature, at once horrible and absurd, and nothing but the force of habit, and accidental interested associations could possibly create an artificial taste for it in the mind of any body. It is obvious that such artificial associations may by possibility be overcome, however general and deep rooted they may be, and admitting even, that practices founded on some natural association of immediate pleasure with vice never can be checked. For this reason, national vices are more susceptible of reform than individual ones, and there have been some remarkable instances of success in this particular; among which are the cessation to a great degree of religious persecution—the discontinuance of the practice of killing or enslaving prisoners of war—and the almost

general abolition of the African slave trade, at least of the publick toleration of it. While these abuses existed, the idea of reforming any one of them was probably considered as wild and chimerical a notion, as some at present consider the possible cessation of war. No doubt it was looked upon as *impossible* to reform them—but now that the thing is done, we can very readily see a vast difference between them and another abuse that is not yet reformed. This difference, however, is in reality nothing more than the difference between a *thing that has been done* and a *thing that has not.* The latter is apt to be looked upon as impossible, *for*, it is said, *if this thing could have been done, it would have been done—people would have accomplished it before now*—and the world is too indolent to examine why the object may have been neglected, or whether any better reason can be given why the thing *cannot* be done, than that it *has not.* As we consider this conclusion rather in the nature of a *non sequitur*, we shall, for the reasons stated above, take it for granted that there is no *impossibility* of eradicating the custom of war, and proceed to the second point of inquiry under this head.

*What is the probability of the discontinuance of this practice?* The answer to this question depends upon the answer that may be given to the following one, which is in fact only the same question in other words. What probability is there that publick opinion may change with regard to the character of war?

The military system is sustained in the publick opinion, first, by its antiquity and the familiarity with it, derived from its long continued practice. This is of course a defence, that cannot be immediately shaken. Nothing can alter what is already past, or make this custom, as Napoleon did his Berlin and Milan decrees, to be viewed as *non avenu.* In opposition, however, to the effect of antiquity, may be urged that the practice is admitted by all to be bad. Nobody defends it, though all allow it to be ancient. It is not, therefore, of the number of those abuses, which have become so sanctified by age that they are considered as blessings, and that it is thought sacrilege to attempt to reform them. The only unfavourable effect of the antiquity of this practice, is to make the iniquity and horrour of it less striking, and thus

to abate in some degree the zeal that might be felt for its removal.

The second great reason why war is tolerated by publick opinion, is the manner, in which it is treated by the great majority of writers, philosophical, historical, and poetical. Nothing is so bad that it has not its bright side, and it seems to have been a malignant contrivance of the enemies of humanity, to associate with the external aspect of war as many imposing and captivating circumstances as possible. It happens, therefore, by a strange and most unnatural combination, that the preparations for the most desolating scene of misery that the earth affords, are more gorgeous and glittering, than for any other occasion whatever. Blood and murder wear the array of a pompous festival. To see a large body of troops in their costly and elegant equipments, with glittering arms and joyous faces, one would think they were going somewhere to celebrate a great and glorious national jubilee. Instead of that, they are merely marching to a distant spot to meet as many more, as gaily drest as themselves, and slaughter them in cold blood, for reasons, of which they are completely ignorant, and which are so trifling that they may be said not to exist. Such is the inconsistency between the external and actual character of war. There is also, a great developement of intellectual and physical powers in the course of these vast and dreadful struggles, and a field afforded by the various incidents of them, for all the exercise of the finest feelings and most amiable virtues. All these circumstances combine to make military transactions a very favourable subject for poetry—besides which, in the earlier stages of society when the best poets commonly appear, there is no other important or honourable line of action—nothing else is thought worth description. The consequence is, that from the time of Homer to that of Walter Scott, war has been the never ceasing theme of poetry. Description delights to dwell upon its favourable side—to expatiate on the grandeur and beauty of its external display—to describe the vigour and bravery of its heroes. The poets are a race of imitators, and it has been correctly observed before, that it is quite impossible to say how much mischief the works of Homer alone may have done the world by encouraging a taste and fondness for military scenes. The world has gradually become

better informed and more enlightened—other occupations beside the military have been introduced into society, and other views are generally entertained of war by judicious men, but it still remains the best subject of poetry, and as such continues to be constantly employed at the present day. Even Byron, who in one of his works has painted better, than any body before him, the vices of the practice, resorts to the worst species of military characters for the heroes of his narrative poems.

The historians might have been expected to be a little more considerate in their views of society and character than the poets. They must of course give narrations of wars, which have been and still are, almost the only publick business of nations; but one would naturally suppose that they would have viewed them as they are, as the bane and scourge of the world, and while they consigned them to memory, have carefully noted their true character. They have done, however, nothing of all this. They not only give a disproportionate place in their narratives to military transactions, large as the space is that they would properly occupy, but never hint, even by casual reflections, at the folly and barbarity of the custom. They speak of it with calmness and freedom as if it were the natural business of life. Military success and skill is applauded without much regard to the cause in which it has been exerted. Nothing could be more frivolous for instance, than the pretended causes of the Peloponnesian war, that laid the foundation of the ruin of Greece—nothing more infamous than many of the individual enterprises, undertaken in the course of it. But we hear from Thucydides—a profound and philosophick thinker too—no reflections on the nature of this great vice in society. He gives a clear, circumstantial, minute detail of military transactions as they occurred, with occasional acute observations on the motives of his characters. Yet one would think, that a generous mind like his, sharpened as it was by adversity, would hardly have refrained from frequent bursts of indignation, in relating how the hopes and fortunes of the cultivated world were sacrificed to the miserable passions of a few demagogues and generals. Tacitus is almost the only historian who dwells but little on military details. The reason is, however, that they did not fall within the scope of his subject. His reproofs of tyranny are so manly

and vigorous, that one is almost tempted to think that war would have appeared under his pencil in its true colours. Much might have been expected from the modern philosophick historians, Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire—but such expectations will be disappointed. The latter, in many detached passages of his various writings, exhibits as correct views of this subject as possible—but to flatter the vanity of his king, Louis XV. he dwells upon the battle of Fontenoy with the fondness of an amateur, and has given a finer graphical description of it than is extant in history of any other whatever.

However the poets and historians might have erred in their estimate of the character of the military system, it was naturally to be expected that the philosophers should have viewed it in its true light. Those who made it their profession to examine things by the clear eye of reason, and in the silence of the passions, could not certainly suffer themselves to be misled by this vulgar prejudice. Unfortunately most of the distinguished political writers have not only not discouraged the military spirit, but have actually done every thing to promote and heighten it. In the Republick of Plato, all the citizens were to devote themselves exclusively to the army, and so it was we know, in practice in the system of Lycurgus—nor do we recollect any philosophical writer who has made it a business to point out the radical vice of the military system. On the contrary, all of them when they have occasion to speak of it, regard it as an established part of social order, and extol in high terms the display of military virtues and talents. Even Montesquieu observes of Alexander, among other lofty encomiums, that in the wildest sallies of his extravagance, he had a flash of reason which directed him—and that those who pretend to censure his conduct were as incapable of understanding, as they were of equalling it. And yet, this man could march his army five or six hundred miles through an African desert, in order to prevail upon an impostor to tell him he was not the son of his father—and could afterwards murder his best friend for not believing the assertion.

In process of time there arose a great scholar, who undertook to reduce war to a system of rules—we allude to the treatise of Grotius on the law of Peace and War. Unfor-

tunately this great scholar was but a poor philosopher, and although this was more the fault of his age than his own, the consequences have been very unfavourable to the cause of humanity. He justifies the practice of war on the ground of the justifiableness of personal self-defence, a thing with which, as we have shewn already, war, as a custom, has nothing to do. Taking it for granted that some wars may be justifiable, he considers it for the best that all wars should be so considered, that are once formally declared, and lays down a system of rules, calculated to mitigate to a certain degree the cruelties generally attending them. If war must continue as a part of the social system, it is, no doubt, better that it should be carried on with as little barbarity as possible, and on that supposition the treatise of Grotius may have produced great advantage. Some may also think, among those who believe in the possible discontinuance of war, that an improvement in the manner of carrying it on was a necessary step in the progress of society towards its abolition. It appears to us, however, sufficiently probable, that if Grotius, instead of temporising with it as he did, had at that time when the barbarity of it first began to be felt by the world, made a vigorous attack upon the practice itself, it would have been quite as likely to succeed, as at any subsequent period. As it was, the practice came down to succeeding generations, in the milder form in which he recommended it, sanctioned by the authority of his great name, which at the period when he lived was incalculably high. This was a sort of turning point, and was to decide whether a custom that had flourished so long through barbarous ages was to live on through ages of refinement; and the work of Grotius must have contributed considerably to the latter effect. Those who have treated this subject since Grotius have also grounded themselves almost entirely upon his work, and it is in fact rather remarkable, that this department of political philosophy, in practice by far the most important to the world, should not have been handled by any author of real ability. The writers on the law of nations are perhaps, as a class, the least valuable in the circle of political science.

The result of our observations on this point is, that the favourable manner in which war has been treated by most writers of all classes, is one principal reason why it is tolerated by publick opinion. Now it is obvious that this engine

of books may, and probably will in the course of time, be employed on the contrary side, and may be expected to act at least as efficaciously in favour of truth as it has done against it. If the elementary historical, and political treatises, that are in the hands of youth, instead of considering war as a necessary and legitimate branch of the social system, and dwelling with complacency on its details, should describe it as the principal scourge of the world, and at least as absurd as it is mischievous, it is clear that they would grow up with very different notions of it from the common ones. Poetry will of course follow in the track of publick opinion rather than lead it, because it is a sort of commodity that must be suited to the publick taste; but even in this department of literature, the progress of refinement is gradually introducing a very important and favourable change. The fictions, which have been the most popular within the last half century, describe the actions and passions of private life, and are found to possess a much deeper interest, than narratives of great political or historical movements. These, though generally in prose, come for all moral purposes under the description of poetry, and thus military virtues have already ceased to be the sole objects of interest in fictitious narration. The principal poets of Great Britain still continue, as was observed before, in their metrical compositions, to select their heroes from the class of pirates and conquerours. But it cannot be long before they will discover how much they lose by this choice. How much greater interest we feel for example in the Antiquary than in the Corsair. Nor is it necessary that the poets should lose the opportunity of describing these immense exhibitions of power and feeling, occasioned by war. It is only necessary to take a correct and fair view of the subject, so as not to mislead publick feeling, and a battle may still be as fine a subject for description as an earthquake, a plague, or an inundation.

The form of the European governments is one great objection to the probability of a reform in the management of international disputes. The Abbe de St. Pierre, who interested himself very much in this subject about a century ago in France, and wrote one or two works upon it, presented a memorial to Cardinal Fleury, then Prime Minister, 'whose dear delight,' says Pope, 'was peace'—and who might, therefore, be looked upon as rather favourable to the

scheme. His answer was, 'You have forgotten, M. l'Abbé, as a preliminary measure, to despatch a troop of missionaries, to change the hearts of kings and princes.' It is too true, that while a few individuals, not the most likely by the terms on which they hold their power to be particularly attentive to the real interests of their subjects, have the sole direction of a number of contiguous nations, there cannot be much hope of a permanent preservation of peace. But will it not be the natural effect of the progress of political knowledge and general improvement, that the European governments will pass from the hands of hereditary rulers into those of something like a fair representation of the popular feeling and interest? Are there not even strong indications in the present aspect of Europe that the epoch of such a change is rapidly approaching? These are great questions, which would furnish matter of themselves for a long inquiry.—If however, by means of such an improvement, the governments of Europe should ever be brought to act upon a fair and enlightened view of the publick interest, it is clear that we should have no more wars. Supposing even that those governments remain as they now are, is there not room to suppose that in process of time, and in the progress of general information, the voice of publick opinion may declare itself with such clearness and decision against war, that even arbitrary governments may be compelled to listen to it—

> 'War is a game which, *were their subjects wise*,
> 'Kings would not play at.'

This is poetry, but no fiction—for kings are themselves the subjects of opinion, and must obey her orders or lose their power; and perhaps, instead of doubting whether subjects will ever arrive at the point of wisdom necessary for effecting this object, we ought rather to be surprised that they have not reached it long ago.

It will be perceived from these remarks, that we place no great confidence in the league of kings and princes in Europe for the preservation of peace, sometimes called the *Holy Alliance* or *Christian Treaty*. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* If they really wish for the permanent tranquillity of the world, let them disband their standing armies, and give up their military and naval establishments. When we see them

entering into a combination to do this by common consent, we shall begin to think them in earnest, and not before. But it is little better than a mockery of the world, to make these publick professions, while they keep on foot armies of two or three hundred thousand men each, all burning for an opportunity to enjoy the occupation and profit of a new struggle. The only real ground of dependence is the intelligence and good sense of the people. When the publick voice is once clearly and fully lifted up against war, it will cease; and till then the solemn farce of Holy Alliances will probably aggravate rather than diminish the evil.

But what can be substituted for war? How shall national differences be terminated without it? This reminds us of a remark of Voltaire upon a different subject—*Je vous délivre d'une bête féroce qui vous dévore et vous me demandez ce que je veux mettre à sa place.* I am delivering you from a wild beast just ready to devour you, and you ask me what I mean to put in his place. It is obvious that in this case every change must be for the better. The great adversary himself could not devise a scheme for settling disputes more fraught with mischief than the present. Most writers on this subject have recommended the establishment of an international tribunal, in the nature of an Amphictyonic council, to settle differences between nations. This was the plan of St. Pierre. Kant, who wrote a pamphlet upon it, has also recommended a sort of confederation among states for this purpose. This scheme is considered objectionable by some, on the ground that either the sovereignty of independent states must be compromised by making this tribunal sovereign over them all, or that the tribunal having no power to enforce its decrees would be entirely inefficient. We are very doubtful about the force of this objection, and think it not improbable that it would be found in practice a matter of great ease and familiarity to settle by arbitration such differences as might *bonâ fide* occur between independent nations. These would generally be of no great consequence and almost always of that kind, in which it is better for all parties, that the dispute should be settled any way than not at all.

Besides, and this is a point which we think entitled to more consideration than it has yet received—what necessity is there to provide for the determination of many international disputes? Most of the wars waged for a century or two in Eu-

rope have nominally arisen from claims and contests, of ancient origin, bequeathed from generation to generation as standing grounds for quarrel. Now, supposing all such old matters to be once fairly adjusted, as a preliminary step to a new mode of settling national disputes in future—what new subjects could be expected to arise? Nations, it is obvious, have in reality no clashing interests. What promotes the interest of one promotes the interest of all, since it is really for the advantage of every nation that all the rest should be as prosperous as possible. It is true that if military establishments and standing armies remained, the personal interest of those connected with them would never want for pretences to engage nations in war. But the fair trial of a new system would presuppose the entire suppression of such establishments. And as we conceive this last-mentioned cause, to wit, the interest of persons connected with military establishments, to be at bottom the moving cause of most, if not all wars, we are sanguine enough to apprehend, that if this were fairly removed, there would be no great trouble found in adjusting any accidental differences. Such differences would probably, as has just been observed, be surprisingly few—and there being nobody in the state personally interested in making war about them, the utter inefficacy and inexpediency of this mode of adjusting them would strike every body too plainly to permit the thought of recurring to it. It would in fact be universally regarded as an antiquated barbarism—the principal stigma on the character of an age, that called itself civilized and enlightened. Military establishments operate like great schools for teaching the necessity and propriety of what may be called the *military system*—just as a body of clergy in the state are found a most powerful instrument for keeping up in the publick mind an opinion of the necessity and expediency of religion. The first efficient step therefore that can be taken towards the overthrow of this system, will be the suppression of standing armies and military establishments.

The objection to any attempt of the kind we are considering, founded upon a misunderstanding of the doctrine of Malthus, that war is a part of the established system of nature, and that the attempt to put an end to it would be fighting against Providence—as well as the defence of war, which is sometimes set up on the authority of certain passages in

scripture, we consider too frivolous to require any attention. We shall therefore proceed immediately to make a very few remarks by way of conclusion to this article upon the third point proposed for examination, viz.

3. *The probable effect of Peace Societies in promoting the object we are considering.* And with regard to this we certainly think that such societies are among the most important and effectual means of producing that reformation in publick opinion, which we consider the only necessary preliminary to the accomplishment of the object. Publick opinion is very sympathetick and very apt to follow the lead of large and respectable bodies of men. The publicity and notoriety attendant on the meetings and proceedings of such societies are also very well calculated to attract attention to the subject—and this is all that is wanted. Let the publick mind be once directed to a serious examination of the matter, and the point is gained. These societies may be expected to meet with opposition and ridicule, but they have no reason to stand in awe of either one or the other. Their object is a good one and will defend itself against argument, nor is it very likely to be injured by the sneers of the interested or the frivolous. We have said little or nothing in the course of our remarks of the objection that is most commonly urged, that the project is a *chimerical* one. If by this is meant that it is *impossible* to execute it, we apprehend it will be rather difficult to prove the point; and even if it were certainly *impossible* to put an entire end to war, no reason can be given, as has been urged before, why every effort should not be used to discourage it on sound and proper principles. Nobody can pretend that it is impossible or improbable, that the steady exertions of societies and individuals should have some effect in discouraging a military spirit, if they cannot wholly eradicate it. If it be intended to connect with the word an idea of *absurdity*, folly or incongruity, as belonging to the plan in question, we consider the epithet as quite misapplied and belonging with much greater propriety to the practice itself. What can be more thoroughly and essentially *chimerical*, *absurd*, and *ridiculous*, than the pretence of settling a disputed boundary, or a doubtful passage in Grotius by arranging fifty or a hundred thousand men in two opposing lines, and compelling them to shoot each other down? This is the real chimera, and the attempt to put an end to it is benevolent and judicious, and deserves the approbation and encouragement of the friends of humanity.

We beg leave therefore, by way of general summary of our remarks, to observe in conclusion—that the object of the Peace Society is in our opinion more worthy than any other to engage the attention of a benevolent and enlightened mind—that much may certainly be done towards effecting this object, and that the ultimate attainment of it is by no means to be despaired of—and that such associations are among the most powerful means that can be employed towards producing these desirable effects.

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ART. III. *A course of legal study respectfully addressed to the Students of Law in the United States. By David Hoffman, Professor of Law in the university of Maryland.* Baltimore, Coale & Maxwell, 1817, pp. 383.

THE great progress which has been made in mathematical and physical science during the two last centuries, has attracted the attention not only of philosophers, but of men of business. So intimately indeed has this progress connected itself with the immediate wants and comforts of mankind, that it could scarcely escape the most careless observer. But the progress of moral, political, and juridical science, during the same period, though less perceptible to the common eye, is not less wonderful; and has quite as much contributed to the improvement of the human race, and to the developement and security of their most important rights and interests. Few persons, indeed, are sufficiently aware how forcible, though silent, is the operation of laws, upon our manners, habits and feelings; and how much of our happiness depends upon a uniform and enlightened administration of publick justice. Whatever of rational liberty and security to private rights and property is now enjoyed in England, and in the United States, may in a great degree be traced to the principles of the common law, as it has been moulded and fashioned from age to age by wise and learned judges. Not that the common law in its origin or early stages was peculiarly fitted for these purposes, for the feudal system, with which it originated, or at least became early incorporated, was a system in many respects the very reverse; but that it has had the advantage of expanding with the improvements of the age, and of continually enlarg-

ing itself by an adoption of those maxims of civil right, which by their intrinsick justice and propriety commend themselves to the bosoms of all men. The narrow maxims of one age have not been permitted to present insurmountable obstacles to the improvements of another, but have become gradually obsolete or confined to a very insignificant range.

If it were not beside our present purpose we might illustrate these remarks by calling the attention of our readers to the fact, that since the reign of queen Elizabeth, nearly the whole system of equity has been created; and that the commercial contracts, which form so great a portion of the business of our courts, were before that period either wholly unknown, or at the most, but very imperfectly understood. In respect to insurance, we may almost say that the law has grown up within the latter half of the eighteenth century. Previous to the time of Lord Mansfield, there are but few cases in the reports, which are entitled to much respect either for their sound interpretation of principles or general applicability. It is to his genius, liberality, learning, and thorough understanding of the maritime jurists of the continent, of Cleirac, and Roccus, and Straccha, and Santema, and Loccenius, and Caseregis and Valin, and to his ardent attachment to the equitable doctrines of the civil law, that we are chiefly indebted for that beautiful and rational system, which now adorns this branch of the common law. The doctrine of bailments too (which lies at the foundation of the law of shipments) was almost struck out at a single heat by Lord Holt,* who had the good sense to incorporate into the English code, that system which the text and the commentaries of the civil law had already built up on the continent of Europe. What remained to give perfect symmetry and connexion to all the parts of that system, and to refer it to its principles, has been accomplished in our times by the incomparable essay of Sir William Jones, a man, of whom it is difficult to say, which is most worthy of admiration, the splendour of his genius, the rareness and extent of his acquirements, or the unspotted purity of his life. Had he never written any thing but his Essay on Bailments, he would have left a name unrivalled in the common law, for philosophical accuracy, elegant learning, and finished analysis. Even cold and cautious as is the habit, if not the

* The case of Coggs v. Bernard. 2 Ld. Raym. R. 909.

structure, of a professional mind, it is impossible to suppress enthusiasm, when we contemplate such a man.

We recal ourselves to the more immediate topicks on which we have already touched—of the law of bills of exchange and promissory notes, how little can be gleaned from works before the reign of William and Mary? And how many of its most useful principles are younger than the days (as Swift calls her) of the good queen Anne? In the reign of George III. more has been done to give a scientifick cast to these doctrines than in all the preceding ages. And here again we may remark, how much has been gained by the accessions and alluvions of the civil law. It is impossible to read the older decisions without reviving the memory of Marius and Caseregis; or the latter, without perceiving their general coincidence with the summary, but profound treatise of Pothier. If we pass to the other branches of commercial law, we shall find the improvements not less striking nor less important. Molloy and Malynes, feeble and inaccurate as their treatises are now confessed to be, were until comparatively a recent period the principal, though erring guides of the profession, on questions respecting the rights and duties of owners, masters, and mariners, of shippers and freighters, of average, salvage and contribution. In what part of either of these writers, or of any cotemporary or more ancient reporters, shall we find the doctrines relative to the earning and loss of freight and wages, or relative to charter parties, bills of lading, stoppage in transitu and liens, so familiar to the modern merchant and lawyer, traced out with the important practical distinctions belonging to them. What was then despatched in a few pages, would now require a large volume. Much might even at that period have been acquired by a diligent study of the maritime jurists of the continent; but they were either unknown, or with one or two exceptions passed over in silent neglect. The truth is, that maritime law had then but little attracted the attention of the courts of common law; and the only court, in which the subject was much considered, (we mean the admiralty,) laboured under the severe hostility of these courts, and had to maintain an arduous struggle even for existence. Under such circumstances its judgments and opinions carried little weight in Westminster hall; for few were willing to listen to principles which had no authority

beyond the narrow walks of Doctors Commons. If we except the aid borrowed from the civilians of the continent, the masterly treatise of Mr. Abbott on the law of shipping is principally founded on the adjudications since the elevation of Lord Mansfield to the bench; and in these adjudications the general consistency with principle is as distinguishable as their practical importance.

We have the rather dwelt upon these improvements in maritime law, because they are most obvious to the general observer, and therefore most readily admitted. In the several branches of this law, instead of a few elementary principles and a few decisions turning upon nice distinctions, we have now a regular system, which though not entirely perfect, exhibits such a scientifick arrangement and harmony of principles, that in most of the questions arising in practice, the profession are enabled to relieve themselves from those distressing doubts which never fail to bring discredit upon the law for its supposed uncertainty. But improvement has not been confined to commercial law.—A spirit of scientifick research has diffused itself over the other departments of the common law—contested questions are now, and for a long time have been, sifted with the most laborious diligence, and the limits of principles established with a philosophical precision and accuracy, which is rarely observable in the old reports. The doctrines of uses and trusts, of last wills and testaments, of contingent remainders, and executory devices, and of legacies, although resting on ancient and immovable foundations, are reduced to a very high degree of exactness and consistency, and followed out into their regular results with a truly logical conformity to principles, for which we might search in vain in the annals of former times.

But, although much has been done in modern times to methodise the common law and give it a systematick character, so that we may not only arrive at its principles by regular analysis, but teach its elements and distinctions by an enlarged synthesis; yet it is not to be imagined that the profession have to encounter less labour, or to exercise less diligence, than formerly, in order to obtain a mastery of the science; or that there is little uncertainty in applying it to the solution of those questions, which perpetually arise in human transactions. To a certain extent law must for-

ever be subject to uncertainty and doubt, not from the obscurity and fluctuation of decisions, as the vulgar erroneously suppose, but from the endless complexity and variety of human actions. However certain may be the rules of the statute or common law, they must necessarily be general in their language, and incapable of a minute and perfect application to the *boundless* circumstances of life, which may modify, limit, or effect them. It is impossible to provide by any code, however extensive, for the infinite variety of distinctions as to civil justice, arising from the imperfection of human language and foresight, from the conflict of opposing rights, from the effect of real or apparent hardships, and from those minute equities, which are often found in different scales, adding somewhat to the weight of each, but rarely forming an exact equipoise. Until human actions are capable of being limited on every side to a definite range of circumstances, the fermentations and combinations of which may be perfectly ascertained and enumerated; until there shall be an entire separation of right from wrong in all the business of life and the elements of each shall be immiscible and repulsive; until in short we shall become absolutely pure and perfect in our actions and perfectly conusant of all the operations of the past, the present, and the future, there will remain immeasurable uncertainties in the law, which will call for the exercise of professional talents, and the grave judgments of courts of justice. We must be content, since we cannot hope to realize these utopian dreams of human excellence, to secure the upright and enlightened administration of justice by encouraging learned advocates to fit themselves for eminence at the bar, and by supporting with liberal salaries the dignity, the virtue, and the independence of the bench.

We have already intimated an opinion, that the improvements in the various departments of law, have in no degree lessened the necessity of laborious study to qualify gentlemen for the higher walks of the profession. The changes of two centuries have greatly facilitated the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the science; but they have also widened the circle to an almost incalculable extent. Sir Henry Spelman has left us a striking picture of the difficulties and discouragements of the study of his own time. In his preface to his glossary, he says, 'Emisit me [mater] tamen sub anno altero [1579] Londinum juris nostri capes-

sendi gratiâ, cujus cum vestibulum salutassem, reperissemque linguam peregrinam, dialectum barbaram, methodum inconcinnam, molem non ingentem solum, sed perpetuis humeris, sustinendam, excidit, fateor, animus, blandioribusque subridens musis, rigidam hanc minervam, ferreis amplexibus coercendam leni molimine delibari.' To be sure, the discouragements of that day were not inconsiderable—the whole of the law was locked up in barbarous Latin and still more barbarous Norman French. The doctrines of special pleading were obscured by the shades of a dead language, and by the embarrassing subtilties of scholastick refinement. The great body of the law was to be principally extracted from the year books, and the elaborate, though immethodical abridgments of Statham, Fitzherbert, and Brooke. The only guides which could be said to illumine the way, were the brief but profound text of Littleton on Tenures, the authoritative and methodical sketch of Glanville, the comprehensive, exact, and learned treatise of Bracton (whom Sir William Jones has justly characterized as the best of our juridical classicks) and the perspicuous and compact work of Fleta, in which the unknown author follows with steady footsteps the path of his master. If to these we add the old Tenures, the old and the new Natura Brevium, the Register of original writs, the works of Britton and Staundford, the very able dialogues of St. German between a Doctor and Student, the acute and subtle notes of Perkins, and the diffuse but accurate and learned commentaries of Plowden,* we have the bulk of juridical authors, which were to be mastered by the student at the time to which Sir Henry Spelman refers. We do not mean to undervalue the labour which was necessary to accomplish this arduous task; and we well know that what works did not then supply, could be acquired only by the dry practice of a black letter office, and a constant and fatiguing attention upon courts of justice. But adding every thing, which the most strenuous advocate of the ancient law would ask, we may safely pronounce that the labours of a modern student, if he means to attain eminence, must be infinitely greater. To be a sound

* The other reporters of this period, Keilway, Anderson, Moore, &c. were not then published. The Mirror of Justices, though of an earlier time, did not appear until a half century afterwards. There are some few other works of this period, but they were not thought worth a distinct enumeration.

lawyer, he must not merely taste, but drink deep at the ancient fountains of the law. He must acquire an accurate knowledge of the feudal tenures and of the ancient doctrines connected therewith, because they constitute the rudiments of the law of real estates; and yet much of this learning is remote from common use, and lies deep in the dark and uncouth text of the primitive writers. He must be initiated into the mysteries of real actions, which will at once carry him back three centuries, for since the days of queen Elizabeth these actions have gradually sunk into neglect; and unless he thoroughly comprehends them, he can hardly be master of the modern actions of trespass and ejectment, not to speak of our own state, where real actions exist in their vigour and remain the great remedies for deciding titles. If we add to this the necessary learning of personal actions founded on torts or contracts, which in modern times have branched out into an almost endless variety, we shall have some notion of the extent of the labour which is now requisite to the attainment of the first rank in the profession.

This view of the subject may appear appalling to young gentlemen who are just quitting our universities with the intention of devoting their lives to the science of jurisprudence. It ought, however, to be a great consolation to them that the elementary writers are more faithful, more accurate, and more polished, than in former times. The paths may not always be well cleared, nor the prospects interesting; but in almost every direction there will be found learned guides, who cannot fail to diffuse a bright and steady cheerfulness during the most rugged journies.

The superiour advantages in this respect of our own times over the past, will be apparent upon the slightest reflection. If we look back to the termination of the century succeeding the period to which Sir Henry Spelman alluded, we shall find that the student had comparatively few additional elementary works to assist his progress. Lord Hale in his preface to Rolle's Abridgment, (in 1668) gives us a list of those which were most useful, and he contents himself with adding to those already named by us, Rolle's Abridgment, Lord Coke's Institutes and the intermediate reporters between his own time and Plowden.* Not but that some other elementary

* Lord Hale's preface to Rolle is well worth the diligent perusal of students.

works had in the mean time been published ; but they were not deemed by him peculiarly useful to students. We have also yet remaining, a letter of Lord Chief Justice Reeve, addressed to his nephew about seventy years later, [9 Geo. 2.] on the study of the law, by which we find that in his opinion, (with which we do not coincide,) Finch's Law, Hale's History of the common Law, and Wood's Institutes, were the most material elementary works that had been added to the old stock during this whole period.* The publication of Blackstone's Commentaries [in 1765] constituted a new epoch in the annals of the common law. Previous to that period the learned author had published his analysis of the laws of England,† which exhibited the outline, of the method and principal divisions which the Commentaries were intended to fill up, in pursuance, indeed, of the plan which had been previously sketched by the masterly pen of Lord Hale. Of a work, which has been so long before the publick as Blackstone's Commentaries, it cannot be necessary for us to utter one word of approbation. For luminous method, for profound research, for purity of diction, for comprehensive brevity and pregnancy of matter, for richness in classical allusions and for extent and variety of knowledge of foreign jurisprudence, whether introduced for illustration, or ornament, or instruction, it is not too much to say, that it stands unrivalled in ours and perhaps in every other language. There have not however been wanting of late years attempts to undervalue the importance of these Commentaries. It has been suggested, that in some parts the work is superficial, and in others too general and elementary ; that it cannot be safely relied on as authority, and that it teaches the science so imperfectly, that it has almost as great a tendency to mislead as to instruct. These objections seem to us founded upon a total misconception of the design of the work. The author did not undertake to exhibit a full and perfect view of the common law, but merely a summary sketch of its most important doctrines and distinctions. That some errours may be found by a strict scrutiny cannot be denied ; but from the vast extent and variety of the materials, such errours were to be expected.

* The letter of Lord Chief Justice Reeve is published in the Collectanea Juridica, vol. i. p. 79.

† The analysis was first published in 1756.

The only wonder is that so much should have been accomplished with so little intermixture of false doctrine and obscure and inaccurate statement. We cannot express our own sentiments better than in the language of that admirable ornament of juridical literature, Sir William Jones. 'His commentaries are the most correct and beautiful outline, that ever was exhibited of any human science; but they alone will no more form a lawyer, than a general map of the world, how accurately and elegantly soever it may be delineated, will make a geographer. If, indeed, all the titles, which he professed only to sketch in elementary discourses, were filled up with exactness and perspicuity, Englishmen might hope at length to possess a digest of their own laws which would leave but little room for controversy, except in cases depending on their particular circumstances.'—(Jones on Bailments, 3, 4.)

But the most incontestible proof of the excellence of the work is to be found in the striking effects which its publication produced in every department of the common law. By the elegance of its style and the novel dress in which it clothed the elements of law, it immediately attracted universal attention in England. It was soon considered as an indispensable part of the library of every statesman and private gentlemen. It invigorated the ambition of students and relieved them at once from many of the discouragements and difficulties which previously embarrassed every step of their progress. There are lawyers yet living, who can attest the prodigious change, which it once produced in our country. Law was no longer considered a dry and sterile study. It at once became fashionable; and this circumstance combining with the nature of our political institutions, (which make a legal education, if not a prerequisite, at least a very important qualification, for political distinction and publick office,) has contributed in a very high degree to that great increase of the bar, and that ascendency in society, which distinguish the profession, in this, more than in any other country.

It was almost impossible that such a strong excitement should not awaken the ardour of other gentlemen, of juridical learning and leisure, to follow out into its regular details, a design which had been so nobly conceived and executed by the illustrious commentator. Accordingly there has been a larger number of treatises on the leading topicks of the

common law produced within the last half century than in all preceding time. And these treatises are in general distinguished by a scientifick distribution, exact method, propriety of style, and clear exposition of principles and authorities, which is rarely to be found in any of our older juridical essays or dissertations. In fact, the bulk of former elementary works were little more than a collection of decisions under general heads, without any successful attempt to systematize the matter, or subject it to a critical analysis. Among the most striking exceptions to this remark (for some exceptions exist) on the civil side, are the law tracts of Lord Bacon, the profound but imperfect treatises of Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, the ingenious sketch of the Law of Tenures by Sir Martin Wright, and the brief but very exact treatise on Equity attributed to Mr. Ballow; and on the criminal side, the very learned and authoritative works of Lord Hale, the copious digest of Mr. Serjeant Hawkins, and the truly admirable discourses of Sir Michael Foster. We forbear to speak at present of Comyn's Digest, intending hereafter to notice it in another place.

Among the modern works, of which we have been speaking, there are not a few on subjects of the very first importance and of almost daily occurrence in practice, for exact information in which the student would have searched in vain in the abridgments and treatises of former ages. Where, for instance, shall we look for a work, like Mr. Fearne's Essay on Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises? This subject, which constituted one of the most obscure, and must forever remain one of the most intricate titles of the common law, had been already sketched out by the masterly hand of Lord Chief Baron Gilbert,* but like all his other writings it was left in a detached and imperfect shape. It was reserved for Mr. Fearne to honour the profession by a treatise so profound and accurate, that it became the guide of the ablest lawyers, yet so luminous in method and explanations that it is level to the capacity of every attentive student. He has in fact exhausted the subject; and this chef d'ouvre will forever remain a monument of his skill, acuteness and research. All that the most accomplished lawyer can reasonably hope is to add a commentary of new cases and principles, as they arise, without venturing to touch the sacred fabrick of

* See Bacon's abridgment, Guillim's Edition, title Remainder and Reversion.

his master. The treatise of Lord Redesdale on Pleadings in Chancery is of the same masterly and original character. It has traced out the nature and extent of the jurisdiction and practice of courts of chancery with so much brevity, perspicuity and analytical exactness, that probably to this, more than any other work, we owe some of the most valuable improvements in the principles as well as the proceedings, which regulate the administration of equity. Later works on the same subject (such as Mr. Cooper's) have added much valuable matter founded on recent decisions; but the basis of these, as well as of all future works, must rest on the solid foundations laid by the noble Chancellor. Lord Eldon pronounced its eulogy in his best manner, when he declared that 'it is a wonderful effort to collect what is deduced from authorities, speaking so little what is clear, that the surprise is not from the difficulty of understanding all he has said, but that so much can be understood.'

There are many other treatises upon particular titles of the law which might properly be taken notice of in this place in vindication of the opinion we have expressed; but it is beside our present purpose to analyse the merits of juridical authors. We cannot however close these brief remarks without calling the attention of our readers to the very excellent treatises of Mr. Park and Mr. Marshall on Insurance, which have done so much towards giving a scientifick cast to doctrines so recently incorporated into the common law. Their merit is unquestionably of a very high order; and yet probably the most perfect theoretical work on Insurance is that of the learned Emerigon, which (strange to tell) has never been translated, although we have been almost overrun with transfusions from German and French sciolists by the enterprize or selfishness of English booksellers. We trust that the time is not far distant when Pothier and Emerigon and Valin will be accessible in our native tongue to every lawyer, and will be as familiarly known to them as they now are to the jurists of continental Europe.

It has been doubted by some persons, whether the present facilities in the study of law have a tendency to make as profound and accurate lawyers as the old dry and desultory course. It is supposed that the comparative ease with which the student may now advance into the most intricate doctrines, impairs, if it does not extinguish, that ardour of pursuit, which distinguished and disciplined the lawyers of the black-lettered

times. For ourselves we do not perceive the slightest foundation for the opinion, and we deem it radically erroneous.—It might as well be contended, that turnpikes through every part of a thick settled country have a tendency to obliterate the knowledge of its surface or its cities. It is true, that thereby the old roads are less known and less travelled ; but who can doubt that by such means the facility of intercourse and the interchange of every thing important in the commerce of life are greatly augmented, and that publick improvements circulate with ten fold rapidity and force ? Nor is it very easy to perceive how any particular science can be injuriously affected by the thorough developement of its principles and practice. If the lucubrations of twenty years were necessary in former times, (as Fortescue informs us they were) to acquire a competent knowledge of the law for ordinary practice ; and if the whole of that mass can by modern helps be mastered in half that period, it is certainly so much time gained in the business of life ; and time in the science of law, as well as in almost every thing else, is of incalculable importance. The modern works do not teach the law in any new and superficial manner. There is no royal road to this, any more than to the science of mathematics. But the principles are now more closely investigated, the problems more fully enunciated, and the boundaries between the known and unknown more exactly defined. Instead of sparse and scattered maxims we have regular systems built up with general symmetry of parts ; and the necessary investigations in new and difficult cases are conducted with more safety, because they are founded on inductions from rules better established and more exactly limited. Yet, with all these advantages, to become an eminent lawyer is now a task of vast labour and difficulty. The business of the profession has extended itself, as we have already intimated, incalculably, both in quantity and variety. The most deligent study and practice of a long life are scarcely sufficient to place any gentleman beyond the necessity of continual exertions to keep pace with the current of new opinions and doctrines. It is true that in the humbler walks of the profession, men of feeble talents and acquirements may now obtain a maintenance and sometimes perhaps accumulate a fortune ; but this is no more than what the experience of all ages has shown. There have always been obscure attorneys, whose industry, or cunning, or patronage has given them the command of that portion of business, which

is not without profit, if it be not attended with honour. But the sphere of professional activity is now greatly enlarged; and talents and acquirements are more easily measured, since the mysteries of the science are equally accessible to all; and little room is now left in the obscurities of a barbarous language for imaginary excellence, or for the concealment of quackery in the repetition of a technical jargon. That some titles of the common law are not as well understood as in former times, may be safely admitted; and it is because they are either obsolete, or their relative importance is greatly diminished. But as to all the law in modern practical use, we are distinctly of opinion that the science is better understood, than in any former age. A philosophical spirit of investigation now pervades the bar and the bench, and we are freed from the blind pedantry and technical quibbles of the old schools. Many of the doctrines relative to the feudal tenures, such as reliefs, premier seisin, escuage, chivalry, villenage, grand serjeanty, homage, frank marriage, profession, attaints, and others of a similar nature, are now very little known; but surely it is not to be inferred, because subjects so utterly insignificant have sunk into obscurity, that the law has lost its vigour, or the profession lack learning. Probably few, if any lawyers in our country are intimately acquainted with the law of copyholds and advowsons; yet it would be strange to assert, that the want of such knowledge was a gross defect in professional education, when the subject matter, upon which it can operate, has no existence in the United States.

The same remarks are in a good degree applicable to real actions, with all their accompaniments of process, essoins, aid prayers, vouchers, receit, &c. The irresistible tide of time has swept away the actions of assize, the writs of aiel, besaiel and mort d'ancestor, cessavit, quo jure, ne injuste vexes, de rationabilibus divisis, secta ad molendinum, nuper obiit, quod permittat, and the trial by battle; and though in our own state writs of entry, formedon, and right, still exist, yet they have been moulded into so simple a form, that most of the ancient peculiarities are utterly extinct,* and

* We take this occasion to correct an errour, into which Mr. Hoffman has inadvertently fallen, in supposing (p. 144) that real actions are in daily use in Massachusetts, with all their concomitants of voucher, counterplea of voucher, &c. &c. Real actions are here in use, and with them all those pleadings and proceedings, which are necessary for the furtherance of jus-

in England, as well as in most of the other states of the union, they are gone with the years beyond the flood, and the action of ejectment has almost universally superseded all real actions. It is perhaps just matter of regret, that real actions have so entirely sunk into disuse, since many doctrines applicable to modern remedies can scarcely be thoroughly understood without reference to this department of antiquated learning. Many principles in every system of municipal law must be purely technical, and sometimes of arbitrary regulation ; and the reason of them may be lost long before the principles themselves disappear in practice. As long as such principles continue to exist, it is important to preserve the knowledge of the original reasons, on which they are founded, and the limits, which regulate their application. An instance illustrative of these remarks occurred in the modern case of Taylor vs. Horde, (1 Burr. R. 60.) It there became material to ascertain the exact nature of disseisins in the ancient law. Lord Mansfield on that occasion said, "the precise definition of what constituted a disseisin, which made the disseisor the tenant to the demandant's precipe, though the right owner's entry was not taken away, was *once* well known, but it is not *now* to be found. The more we read, unless we are careful to distinguish, the more we shall be confounded."—We have heard it questioned by a late learned judge, whether Lord Mansfield had gone to the bottom of this doctrine ; but however this may be, the case abundantly instructs us, how many distressing doubts may arise from the partial eclipse of lights once so familiarly known. It ought not however to be forgotten, that real actions have not gone into disuse by any sudden and arbitrary abolition, but from the intricacies and delays in the ancient proceedings therein, and from their unfitness for a convenient investigation of numerous questions arising from the complicated conveyances of modern times. For example, it is often a question of serious difficulty to decide, whether an estate be a fee simple, a fee tail, or an estate for life ; the limitations of estates are sometimes very numerous, and the cases in which they have lapsed, and the links of descent and heirship, are often imperfectly known ; in all

tice between the parties. But all the peculiarities of process, essoins, and vouchers and counterpleas, &c. are obsolete, and superseded by a great simplicity of proceeding, greater perhaps than even attends the *formal proceedings* in ejectments.

these cases there must be very great embarrassment thrown in the way of a demandant in a real action, and he may be turned round several times before he can obtain a decision upon his title. He may successively be driven from writs of entry of every degree to a formedon, and even to a writ of right; and after all he may be defeated by a mistake in the pleadings (which he will not be allowed to amend) having little or nothing to do with the merits of his cause. So that if something be lost by the disuse of real actions, much (at least in England) has probably been gained in substantial justice and convenience, and even certainty of remedy.

It has been also suggested, that special pleading has suffered greatly by the modern changes in the study of law; and that it is every day less and less understood. If this were true, it might be satisfactorily accounted for upon grounds altogether distinct from the decline of professional learning. In most of the actions in modern use special pleading is rarely necessary or adviseable. When the action of assumpsit was first introduced, special pleas and issues were very common; but for more than a century they have disappeared in practice; and almost every defence, except that of the statute of limitations, is now determined under the general issue. With the exception above stated, a special plea is never heard of in actions on promissory notes, bills of exchange, policies of insurance, or indeed any other simple contracts; and these form by far the largest portion of the business, which at present occupies the attention of courts of justice. In actions too, for the recovery of real estate, whether the ancient real actions, or the modern action of ejectment, almost every defence is tried under the general issue. The same remark applies to trover, and in general all other actions on the case; and, with the exception of actions of debt, covenant, tresspass, slander, and replevin, which are, comparatively speaking, infrequent, special pleading is entirely out of use. Even in these actions, by the laxity of practice and the provisions of statutes, the use of it has been very much abridged. These considerations disclose a sufficient reason, why special pleading may be less regarded in practice, than in former times, and why its relative value may not always be duly appreciated in the profession. It is unquestionably a branch of learning of vast, nay of indispensable, importance to every lawyer. Without an accurate knowledge of its principles it is impossible to frame actions or declarations for a variety of causes arising in

common practice, and if the foundations are not well laid, the superstructure cannot stand. It is the best, and perhaps the only, method to obtain a thorough and exact knowledge of the proper boundaries of actions, upon which frequently the success or loss of a cause may ultimately depend. Lord Ashburton, in his celebrated letter to a student of law, observes, 'it is usual to acquire some insight into real business under an eminent special pleader previous to actual practice at the bar. This idea I beg leave strongly to second, and indeed I have known few great men, who have not possessed this advantage.'* Nor should it be forgotten, that special pleading

* As Lord Ashburton's letter is not often to be met with, we here subjoin it for the instruction of our professional readers.

'Letter from John Dunning, Esq. to a gentleman of the Inner Temple—containing directions to the student.

'DEAR SIR, *Lincoln Inn, March* 3, 1779.

'The habits of intercourse, in which I have lived with your family, joined to the regard, which I entertain for yourself, make me solicitous, in compliance with your request, to give you some hints concerning the study of the law.

'Our profession is generally ridiculed, as being dry and uninteresting; but a mind anxious for the discovery of truth and information, will be amply gratified for the toil, in investigating the origin and progress of a jurisprudence, which has the good of the people for its basis, and the accumulated wisdom and experience of ages for its improvement. Nor is the study itself so intricate as has been imagined; more especially since the labours of some modern writers have given it a more regular and scientific form.—Without industry, however, it is impossible to arrive at any eminence in practice; and the man who shall be bold enough to attempt excellence by abilities alone, will soon find himself foiled by many, who have inferiour understandings, but better attainments. On the other hand, the most painful plodder can never arrive at celebrity by mere reading; a man calculated for success must add to native genius an instinctive faculty in the discovery and retention of that knowledge only, which can be at once useful and productive.

'I imagine that a considerable degree of learning is absolutely necessary. The elder authors frequently wrote in Latin, and the foreign jurists continue the practice to this day. Besides this, classical attainments contribute much to the refinement of the understanding and embellishment of the style. The utility of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, are known and felt by every one. Geometry will afford the most apposite examples of close and pointed reasoning; and geography is so very necessary in common life, that there is less credit in knowing, than dishonour in not being acquainted with it. But it is history, and more particularly that of his own country, which will occupy the attention, and attract the regard, of the great lawyer. A minute knowledge of the political revolutions and judicial decisions of our predecessors, whether in the more ancient or modern eras of our government, is equally useful and interesting. This will include a narrative of all the material alterations in the common law, and the reasons;—and I would always recommend a diligent attendance on the courts

has a most salutary effect in disciplining the mind for an accurate investigation of principles and accustoming it, by a sort of intellectual chemistry, to the most subtle analysis and combinations. It has been truly asserted by Lord Mansfield, that 'the substantial rules of pleading are founded in strong sense and the soundest and closest logick; and so appear when well understood and explained; though by being misunderstood and misapplied they are often made use of as instruments of chicane.' We remember to have heard the late Chief Justice Parsons (who was an excellent special pleader) declare, that in knotty and difficult cases he always found more certain and satisfactory results in trying them by the rules of special pleading, than by any other method. Sir William Jones, in his preface to the speeches of Isæus, has beautifully illustrated the same thought. 'Our science (says he) of special pleading is an excellent logick; it is admirably calculated for the purpose of analyzing a cause, of extracting,

of justice; as by that means the practice of them (a circumstance of great moment) will be easily and naturally acquired. Besides this, a much stronger impression will be made on the mind by the statement of the case, and the pleadings of the counsel, than from a cold uninteresting detail of it in a report. But above all, a trial at bar, or a special argument, should never be neglected. As it is usual on these occasions to take notes, a knowledge of short hand will give such facility to your labours, as to enable you to follow the most rapid speaker with certainty and precision.—Common place books are convenient and useful; and as they are generally lettered, a reference may be had to them in a moment. It is usual to acquire some insight into real business, under an eminent special pleader, previous to actual practice at the bar. This idea I beg leave strongly to second, and indeed I have known but a few great men who have not possessed this advantage I here subjoin a list of books necessary for your perusal and instruction, to which I have added some remarks; and wishing that you may add to a successful practice that integrity, which can alone make you worthy of it, I remain, &c. &c.

'Read Hume's history of England, particularly observing the rise, progress and declension of the feudal system. Minutely attend to the Saxon government that preceded it, and dwell on the reigns of Edward I. Henry VI. Henry VIII. James I. Charles I. Charles II. and James II.

'Blackstone. On the second reading turn to the references.

'Mr. Justice Wright's learned treatise on Tenures.

'Coke Littleton, especially every word of Fee-simple, Fee-tail, and Tenant in tail.

'Coke's Institutes; more particularly the 1st and 2d; and Serjeant Hawkins's Compendium.

'Coke's Reports—Plowden's Commentary—Bacon's Abridgment; and First Principles of Equity—Pigott on Fines; Reports of Cooke, Burrow, Raymond, Saunders, Strange, and Peere Williams; Paley's Maxims—Lord Bacon's Elements of the Common Law.'

like the roots of an equation, the true points in dispute, and referring them, with all imaginable simplicity, to the court or the jury. It is reducible to the strictest rules of pure dialectick; and if it were scientifically taught in our publick seminaries of learning, would fix the attention, give a habit of reasoning closely, quicken the apprehension, and invigorate the understanding, as effectually as the famed peripatetick system, which, how ingenious and subtle soever, is not so honourable, so laudable, or so profitable, as the science, in which Littleton exhorts his sons to employ their courage and care.' Such commendation supersedes the necessity of all farther discussion of the importance of pleading.

But we doubt the fact, that special pleading is not as well understood as in former times. On the contrary, we incline to believe, that by eminent lawyers its principles are now more fully comprehended and more philosophically examined, than in any preceding period. The age of scholastick quibbling, and petty subtilty, has passed away, and the quaint trifling, which disfigured and disgraced the science, is no longer in fashion. Special pleading is now applied to its original and proper purpose, the attainment of substantial justice and the introduction of certainty of remedy. The good sense and sound logick of modern times has substituted for the artificial pedantry and narrow maxims of the dark ages of the law, rules which commend themselves to all men by their intrinsick propriety and excellence for deciding contested rights. The best ancient treatise on the subject is Mr. Euer's Doctrina Placitandi, a book, which Lord Chief Justice Willes pronounced in his time to contain more law and learning, than any other book he knew, (2 Wils. R. 88.); yet what is this, when compared with the finished elementary and practical treatises of Mr. Lawes or Mr. Chitty? It were indeed desirable, that modern pleaders should endeavour to imitate more generally the pointed brevity and precision of Rastall's Entries, and waste fewer words in their drafts of declarations which

'Like a wounded snake draw their slow length along.'

It might not be useless for them to consider, that the great aim ought to be, not how much, but how little, may be inserted with professional safety. Here at least the study of the ancients would amply repay all their toil, and subserve essentially the publick interests. There is certainly some danger that the current of publick opinion, aided by legisla-

tive enactments and not a little accelerated by a distaste for the prolixity of modern pleading, may bring the science itself into disrepute and neglect. If such an event should happen, it will be matter of most serious regret. We hope that the few observations, which we have hazarded, may attract the attention of the rising generation, and call forth abler pens in the vindication and support of its principles and practice.

There are some other topicks, upon which it was our intention to trouble our professional readers with a few observations in proof of the opinion, that the law as a science never was so well understood, nor so well taught, as at the present period, and yet that a profound and comprehensive knowledge of it never was of more difficult attainment. We may, however, safely pass from general reasoning, and appeal to facts within the reach of every professional gentleman. In our own country the advancement of the knowledge of the science has been truly wonderful. The bar and the benches of almost every state in the union have within the last twenty years very strikingly improved. There are lawyers and judges amongst us, who would sustain the weight and dignity of Westminster Hall. And some of our reports exhibit arguments and opinions, which for propriety, and force, and logick, and acuteness, and erudition, have not been excelled in the proudest days of the law. This rapid improvement has without doubt been greatly aided by the invigorating influence of the modern treatises in almost every branch of law; but it has also owed much to the increased diligence, which a lofty ambition of excellence has stimulated among the master spirits of the profession.

But it is time for us to call the attention of our readers to the immediate subject of this article. Mr. Hoffman has published a Course of Legal Study, which he modestly addresses to students, but which is well worthy the perusal of every gentleman of the bar. Many works have been heretofore written, professedly for the direction of persons engaged in the study of the law; but, for the most part, these works have, in a didactick form, laid down elementary precepts for the moral conduct, the preparatory attainments, or the style of elocution and oratory proper for an eminent advocate. Some, indeed, are little more than a distillation from Quintilian's Institutes and Cicero's Orator, without preserving the pungent essence or eloquence of the originals. Mr. Hoff-

man's work, on the contrary, is almost entirely practical; and it contains a complete course of legal study with a catalogue of the principal books to be consulted or read under all the titles of the law. The introduction is written with a good deal of force and good taste, and in a tone of strong and sensible argumentation. In point both of matter and manner, it is highly creditable to the talents and acquirements of the author. The object of his work is thus stated:

'Though the extensive and elegant commentary of Blackstone now forms the portal, through which the student customarily passes to a more particular and laborious study of his profession, yet much time and labour are undoubtedly afterwards thrown away, for want of due method in taking up the topics, of which he has only exhibited the outline; and however valuable his work as an induction to English law, it would certainly prove more pleasing and more profitable to him, who had previously mastered the peculiarities of the feudal institutions, from which it arose, and of which the nature of his plan allowed but a brief and general notice. It was the design of the author, in the following Course of Legal Study, to reclaim the time and labour thus often and unprofitably expended, by selecting what was valuable in legal learning, and so arranging, as best to adapt it to the complete and ready comprehension of the student.

'The value of method is, we acknowledge, a trite topic of dissertation; but in the inquiries of the American law student this method becomes indispensable; where the ideas and language are remote from those of common life; where the terms are, in an especial degree, peculiar to the science, and of various and singular derivation; and where the body of forms, as well as principles, depends, to a very great extent, on institutions, and systems which have long since passed away. Instead of bewildering himself in works, which presuppose a knowledge of these changes, and a familiarity with these terms, the student should descend to institutionary treatises; examine the earliest history of the people, whose law is his study; detect this in its elements; trace it through all the modifications, which time, circumstance, and modes of thinking produce; discover the origin and reasons of the seemingly unmeaning forms, with which it is environed; and thus proceed gradually, but with smoothness and certainty, over difficulties otherwise insuperable, and to the understanding of peculiarities otherwise inexplicable.

'The common law of England, which forms the great body of our own law, has its principal foundation in the feudal institutions. After acquiring the general principles of morals and politics, the next step is, therefore, to inquire minutely into these;

and, after examining how far they were mingled, in the law of England, with a portion of the old Saxon constitutions, to pursue them through all the successive alterations which resulted from a change of men's opinions in matters of religion, government, or commerce: in this investigation the authors recommended under the second title will be the best guides. The student may then contemplate these revolutions more nearly and critically in his consideration of the doctrine of *Real and Personal Rights*, and their respective *Remedies*, (which two titles comprehend the great body of the English common law,) and of the law which obtains in the courts of *Equity;* which last, together with the *Lex Mercatoria*, and the *Law of Crimes and Punishments*, are only great branches or divisions of the general law of England. Next succeeds the *Law of Nations*, followed by the *Maritime and Admiralty Law*, which is connected with the National Law on the one hand, and with the next title, the *Roman Civil Law*, (from which it draws most of its principles and procedures, and which consequently becomes of importance to the English lawyer,) on the other. Thus, master of English jurisprudence, the student may proceed to inquire in what points it is altered or modified in the *Contitution* and *Laws* of the *United States*, or in those of the *respective States*, particularly his own; and having fortified his mind with the principles of *political economy*, and borne these with him in his review of the natural and political resources of his own country, (a study essential in a nation where the lawyer and politician are so frequently combined,) should close his studious career with some attention to *rhetoric* and *oratory*.

'Notwithstanding the seemingly great extent of this course, (and certainly we cannot flatter the student with the hope of mastering it with the degree and kind of attention which is usually bestowed on it,) let him not be discouraged. What necessarily proves difficult to the desultory and immethodical reader, who comes to his books in the intervals of idleness or dissipation only, and resumes with reluctance what is willingly abandoned on the first call of pleasure, or the first apology for relaxation, may, by a temporary exertion of method and attention, be converted first into a habit, and eventually into a pleasure.

'Study and research are not without their attractions; the mere exertion of mind is productive of pleasure, when the difficulties are not conceived too formidable, or too numerous, and the student does not advance to the investigation, hopeless of success, or unfurnished with the means, and ignorant of the sources of information. In short we conceive, that to an intellect of ordinary capacity, the Law, instead of that guise of difficulty and perplexity in which it for the most part appears, would

assume no small degree of interest, and offer no inconsiderable gratification, were the student initiated, so to speak, in its *geography;* were he instructed in the nice connexions and dependencies which unite its many minute divisions, and conduct him naturally and easily from one topic to another, instead of being set down in the first instance in the midst of difficulties of which he has had no previous explanation, and of which he knows not whither to apply for a solution. These minute connexions, this natural order and arrangement, it was the aim of the author (in which he hopes to have succeeded in some imperfect degree,) to exhibit in the following pages.' p. xiv—xviii.

In a subsequent part of the preface Mr. Hoffman has given some very useful hints on the study of law, which should be treasured up by every student in perpetuam rei memoriam.

'At the same time there is nothing which we more earnestly inculcate on every tyro in law, than to observe scrupulously the hours which he has allotted to the study of his professiou. Whatever may be the temptations of other and more pleasing literary pursuits, or whatever the allurements of idleness or pleasure, this should be a permanent object, from which his attention should never be long diverted. In all studious enterprises, (if we may be allowed the phrase,) he will be found to proceed on a very erroneous plan, who thinks to make the extraordinary efforts of to-morrow supply the deficiencies of to-day. The mind which contemplates with pleasure a short exertion of its powers, which, though it must be regularly made, will, it knows, be regularly relieved by the period for relaxation or for rest, is apt to shrink from the long and uninterrupted exertion which the student often imposes on himself by way of compensation for past indolence. It will, therefore, diminish his toil, as much as it will advance his progress, to allot to every day its just labour, and to perform this with all the scrupulosity which circumstances will permit. If, however, accident has deranged his plan, or idleness and dissipation have made inroads into the seasons set apart for study, we would warn him against the common mistake of neglecting to employ the fragments of time thus produced, in the expectation and design of more methodical exertion for the morrow. How much might be gained by the studious occupation of the moments thus idly and unprofitably thrown away, is incredible to those who have never calculated the days, the weeks, and months, to which they rapidly amount. He that would not experience the vain regret of misemployed days, 'must learn, therefore, to know the present value of single minutes, and endeavour to let no

particle of time fall useless to the ground.' Whoever pursues a contrary plan will forever find something to break that continuity of exertion, in looking forward to which he solaces himself for his present supineness; and at the expiration of the period allotted for the completion of his legal apprenticeship, will generally find a mighty waste of time to have proceeded from the trivial value he attached to its fragments.

'The sedentary and the studious have, indeed, to contend with obstacles peculiar to themselves. Secluded of necessity, for the larger portion of their time, from the business and bustle of men, their ideas insensibly assume a monotonous character, and receiving little ventilation from the constant current of novelties which refresh those who are engaged in active and crowded scenes, are apt to stagnate into languor and melancholy. It is little wonderful that intellectual exertion should become irksome, when thus accompanied by despondency; and that the student should find the lapse to indolence and relaxation so easy, and the return to his solitary avocations so painful; a painfulness most generally augmented by a consciousness of the neglect of duty, which he is happy to drown in the pleasures or bustle of society, rather than brood over in the stillness of his study. Instead of attempting to remedy this tendency by total seclusion, it is better to indulge it with moderation; and to mingle business and pleasure in those proper proportions, which will equally prevent the fatigue of too much exertion, and the satiety of too much enjoyment. Hermits, whether in religion or in literature, have generally found their scheme of exclusive and solitary devotion to a single pursuit, to issue in lassitude and in indolence. But with this occasional relaxation from society; with the exact and uniform attention, and the strict economy in the occupation of time, which we have recommended; together with the facilities which we flatter ourselves will be afforded by the methodical arrangement attempted in the Course which we respectfully submit to the student; and the interest which we have endeavoured to shew may be extracted in no inconsiderable degree even from the singularities and perplexities of law; the study of this important and useful profession, instead of a revolting task, will be found an interesting employment, with which to fill up those portions of life, which he, who knows his own happiness, will be sedulous to devote to business, in order to the more exquisite enjoyment of the remainder.' p. xxiv—xxvii.

The general course of study proposed by Mr. Hoffman, is summed up in the following general syllabus—

'I. Moral and Political Philosophy.

'II. The Elementary and Constitutional Principles of the Municipal Law of England; and herein,

'1st. Of the Feudal Law.
'2d. The Institutes of the Municipal Law generally.
'3d. Of the Origin and Progress of the Common Law.
'III. The Law of Real Rights and Real Remedies.
'IV. The Law of Personal Rights and Personal Remedies.
'V. The Law of Equity.
'VI. The Lex Mercatoria.
'VII. The Law of Crimes and Punishments.
'VIII. The Law of Nations.
'IX. The Maritime and Admiralty Law.
'X. The Civil or Roman Law.
'XI. The Constitution and Laws of the United States of America.
'XII. The Constitution and Laws of the several States of the Union.
'XIII. Political Economy.' p. 32.

This is followed by a particular syllabus under every title of the general syllabus, in which are collected the best works on every successive subject belonging to the heads under which they are arranged. Connected with these heads is a series of notes or perpetual commentary upon the character and relative value of the authors, whose works are cited, or the history and relative importance of the topics, which they discuss, interspersed with many judicious observations of a more general nature, which exhibit to great advantage the liberality, sound judgment, and juridical knowledge of the author. As a specimen of the style and spirit of the work, we subjoin the note on the reading of reports and particularly of leading cases.

'*On the Reading of Reports and particularly of Leading Cases.*—The source of the purest of most accurate legal information lies in the various books of reports and cases argued and determined in the different courts of judicature. To these reports the authors of abridgments and digests of the law are almost solely indebted; but as these digests purport to contain the substance of an infinitude of reported cases, we can expect from them neither fulness nor accuracy of information. These digests and elementary works, therefore, are to be considered merely in the light of well arranged note-books; and are to be read rather for the clearness of their definitions, and the methodical and luminous exposition of principles, than for plenitude, certainty, and precision of knowledge. Those who are in the practice of frequently referring to reports, have occasion to remark

how often the authorities advanced by legal writers are extended or contracted by them, either from negligence, misapprehension, or in support of their particular doctrines. They find other cases irrelative to the propositions, in aid of which they are cited, and not unfrequently, precisely the reverse: hence the necessity of sometimes unlearning what has been acquired in these digests and rudimental works, by a critical and minute scrutiny into the books of reports. Students thus employed in precisely defining their knowledge and correcting their mistaken views, derived from the errours of law-writers, their generality of expression, or the vague manner in which cases are often stated by them, finally arrive at the useful conclusion, that abridgments are to be regarded with a suspicion of their accuracy; and that the writer who abridges least is most to be relied on; hence Viner, as the repository of certain and ample information, is of all others, except the books of reports, the safest for reference. As the books of reports contain the law in the precise phraseology in which it was administered by the judges, they necessarily furnish the most satisfactory and accurate information on expository jurisprudence; and as the arguments of counsel, and frequently of the court, present all the motives or reasons why a point should, or should not, be established as law, these books likewise contain a rich and abundant fund for censorial jurisprudence. The decisions of courts are seldom mere naked judgments or opinions on points drawn from the arguments of counsel; but are more frequently lucid, ample, and learned investigations of the previous authorities on the subject; with a chronological and minute examination of each, and a clear exposition of the very reasons upon which the judgment is predicated. But, in the digests and abridgments, the student cannot expect to find the arguments for or against, or that close chain of reason and authority, by which the rules of law, or the principles stated in them, were originally decided.

"These are, with us, sufficiently weighty reasons for strongly urging the student frequently to refer to the reports. But as indiscriminate reference would lead to boundless research, and absurd waste of time, we submit for his guidance the following rules.

'1. Where the point in the digest, &c. is important and has been or continues to be a *questio vexata*, read with attention the case in which it was *first* agitated or decided, and also the case in which it was, if it has been, *finally* settled; and note, in both cases, the arguments of counsel, and the reasons stated by the court. It is not often that the intervening cases need be particularly examined.

'2. If a point be indistinctly stated, so that a doubt rests on the mind as to the meaning, or if it be intelligibly stated, but appears to be at variance with the common notions of right, or with the analogy of the law; read the cases referred to, until the doubt be removed. The proper time to dissolve such doubts is when they are excited. The student, in these researches, will find that there is a *legal reason* in contradistinction to *natural reason;* that many points which appear at variance with the latter, are in strict conformity with the former; and that points which *prima facie* seem not to be justified by analogy and principle, are upon examination ascertained to be fully correspondent to both.

'3. The *ancient* reports should be read principally by way of reference, for, with the exception of Lord Coke's reports, there are none which are worthy a continuous perusal. The ancient reports, likewise, should be more frequently referred to than the modern, as it is a principle that the science should be studied chronologically. From this mode of investigation, uniting the aid of juridical, and even general history, the student will find much advantage. This mode is also preferable for other reasons: generally, the ancient reports are less methodical, in style more rugged and dry, and altogether less interesting in their matter and manner, than the modern. If the student then (at a time when he is zealously devoted to the study of ancient doctrines, and when his mind is deeply imbued with their principles,) should neglect to search into these repositories of the ancient law, he certainly will not resort to them after he has indulged in the more lucid, harmonious, and pleasing pages of such reporters as Sir James Burrows, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Cowper, and Messrs. Dunsford and East, of England; and Mr. Johnson, Mr. Binney, and Messrs. Hening and Munford, of this country. We would remark besides, that the ancient reports generally contain the cases in which points of law were first either established or agitated; and the modern cases are, very often, little else than different illustrations of these ancient points or principles, by applications of them to different statements of facts. They are frequently repetitions of precisely the same law, or with some little modification; or are, (upon full consideration of all the ancient cases on the particular points,) full denials of them. In these ancient cases, therefore, as they first agitated or settled the various doctrines, we may expect to find the *reasons* or *motives* which induced these decisions. The modern reports, moreover, are in such constant and daily use, that a knowledge of their contents is necessarily, and almost imperceptibly acquired; and if the ancient cases have been duly attended to, many of the modern cannot but be familiar to the student, whilst they present to him

a constant opportunity of exercising his mind in a similar way with the judge who has decided them, viz. by examining the bearings and analogies of cases, applying principles to facts, and modifying or reversing these decisions, as the change in times and circumstances sometimes imperiously requires. This self-investment of the office of a judge, in this particular, will be found a highly profitable exercise, which every student will insensibly glide into, if he has been in the practice of tracing legal points from their infancy, to their full establishment or final decay.

'4. In order that the student may not consume too much time, or be so frequently interrupted by his references as to lose sight of the object and method of the subject under perusal, we suggest three modes. *First*, to read the case referred to immediately, in all cases where the present doubt or difficulty interferes with the due comprehension of the subsequent matter. *Secondly*, to note down the names, book, and pages of such cases as are deemed important and necessary to be read, but which are nevertheless improper to be referred to immediately, either because they are on insolated points, not interfering with the full comprehension of the main subject, or because, upon looking into the report, they are found to be too long for present perusal. Such cases, thus noted down, should be read as soon as the student has finished the volume or chapter in which he was engaged. *Thirdly*, to read such cases only as are intended to remove existing doubts, or such as are known to be what are denominated *leading cases*. An indiscriminate reference would require too much time, and, in numerous instances, prove an absolute waste of it, because upon examination of these cases, they will be frequently found to contain the precise words of the work by which they are cited. In order, then, to profit by reference, we know of no better mode than to limit this reference, as stated, to such cases as are examined to satisfy *doubts and difficulties*, and secondly to those which, on account of their peculiar learning, or other cause, are denominated *leading cases*. We shall close this note with a few observations on the great utility of according an especial attention to leading cases.

'Those cases are considered leading, in which a point of law was *first* in an especial manner judicially noticed, or an important and pervading principle, after a series of contrariant decisions, finally settled; or in which a long received doctrine was reversed; or a dubious one established or modified, after an elaborate and thorough examination of the point in all its plenitude of analogies and bearings. Such cases are unquestionably entitled to more than ordinary attention from the student, who, by trea-

suring them in his mind, lays the foundation of an extended and durable superstructure of legal knowledge.

'Chronology and geography have, with great propriety, been denominated the eyes of history. They enable the historian to take a comprehensive view of a long and infinitely varied series of events, which, like the differently formed links of an extended chain, are obviously *designated* from each other, yet *connected* by ties equally manifest. They likewise impart a fixity and locality to our ideas, which impress them indelibly on the mind; so that disconnected events are, by the aid of chronology, united and fixed in the memory; whilst geography is no less instrumental, by giving to such events, all those interests and sympathies which belong to place.

'So is it in the science of Law. Leading decisions establish *resting places* for the mind, they form so many *epochas* in juridical history; and, if attended to, render a service to the legal inquirer, similar to that which is afforded to the historian by chronology and geography.

'The undivided infinity of time, in common with the boundless and trackless regions of space, bewilders and wearies the mind; and for steady and useful contemplation it is essential, that there should be fixed periods and determined places whence to compute time and measure space: so in the interminable regions of jurisprudence, the mind would soon be confused and exhausted, were it not for those great and learned cases on which it occasionally is allowed to repose, and from which the various relations and dependencies of this august science may be contemplated.

'It is scarcely necessary to attempt an illustration of the practical utility of a knowledge of these leading cases, by whom best reported, and even the pages where they are to be found, which is a matter of much less difficulty than may at first be imagined. The memory is a very improvable and docile faculty, and after principles are impressed, such minutiæ as the names of cases, their reporters, and even the pages, should not be neglected, as they afford much facility in the course of an extensive practice. A knowledge of one or more leading cases on most of the great doctrines of this science, is of infinite utility, as by reference to them, the inquirer is at once furnished by the marginal or other citations with a comprehensive view of the law on the particular subject. As for example; On the various species of bailments, and the respective duties of bailees, the great case of Coggs *v.* Bernard, 2 Ld. Raymond, 909, may be referred to. If the point of inquiry be the conclusiveness of a sentence in a foreign court of admiralty, the case of Hughes *v.* Cornelius, 2 Show. 232. As to the authority of domestick judgments, Moses *v.* M'Farlane, 2 Burr. 1005. On the necessity of pleading with a

*profert*, Reed *v.* Brookman, 3 Dun. and Ea. 151. The distinction between case and trespass *vi et armis*, Scott *v.* Shepherd, 2 Black. 892. As to the right of a *feme covert* to sue or be sued, Marshall *v.* Rutton, 8 Dun. and Ea. 545. The legality of agrements in restraint of trade, Mitchell *v.* Reynolds, 1 Peer. Wms. 181. On the effect of a demurrer to evidence, Gibson *v.* Hunter, 2 Hen. Black. 187. Whether money paid under a mistake be subject to repetition, Bilbie *v.* Lumley, 2 East, 469. As to legacies *in terrorem*, Scott *v.* Tyler, 2 Dick. Rep. 712. The dependence and independence of covenants, Kingston *v.* Preston, Doug. 684; or Pordage *v.* Cole, 1 Wms. Saund. 320. The validity or nullity of the deeds of infants, Zouch *v.* Parsons, 3 Burr. 1794. As to fraud in the sale of personal property, Twine's case, 3 Co. 80. The personal responsibily of agents to the persons contracted with, Macbeth *v.* Haldiman, 1 Dun. and Ea. 172, or Hodgson *v.* Dexter, 1 Cranch, 345. As to variance between the *allegata* and *probata* Bristow *v.* Wright, Doug. 664. As to the validity of a deed by feme on the eve of marriage, defeating the marital rights of her future husband, Carleton *v.* Earl of Dorset, 2 Vernon 17; King *v.* Cotton, 2 P. Wms. 674; or Countess of Strathmore *v.* Bowes, 2 Brow. Ch. Rep. 345. As to the extent of the consideration of marriage to validate deeds against the claims of subsequent purchasers, under statute 27 Eliz. White *v.* Stringer, 2 Lev. 105. Jenkins *v.* Keymis, 1 Lev. 150. That an agent must perform the authorised act in the *name of his principal*, Combe's case, 9 Co. 76. Wilks *v.* Back, 2 East. 142. Appleton *v.* Binks, 5 East 148. Fowler *v.* Shearer, 7 Mass. T. Rep. 14.

'In this way should the student treasure in his mind a *governing* case on every interesting doctrine of the law. As his mind matures, he will find no difficulty in retaining the names of most of the important cases which lead him directly into the channel in which the law of a subject may be found at large. The subject of *note books* we have treated much in detail, Vid. post. It may, however, be well in this place, to advise the student to preserve, in a book for the purpose, a *list* of all such cases as in the course of his reading he may ascertain to be distinguished and leading; which should be placed under the heads to which they belong. The titles should be alphabetically arranged, and the cases only of great learning or importance should be inserted, without a comment, except where best reported. This kind of note book consumes but little of the student's time, will prove of great utility in the prosecution of his future inquiries, and will be found eminently serviceable, when the pressing and multifarious duties of a counsellor will so occupy his time, as to render highly important every means, which is calculated to abridge his labours.'

These observations of Mr. Hoffman are perfectly practical and for the most part accurate and just. In respect to the praise bestowed on Mr. Viner's Abridgment we are constrained to differ from the learned gentleman. We are far from thinking it the safest abridgment for reference—it is a very irregular fabrick, built up on the basis of Rolle's Abridgment with an incorporation of the principal matter of Fitzherbert and Brook, and other old abridgers. It abounds with inaccuracies and repetitions; and it is quite obvious that the author more frequently consulted the works of other abridgers, than the original reports to abbreviate and digest for himself. We agree, however, with Mr. Hargrave (Co. Litt. 9. *a.* note 3.) that 'notwithstanding all its defects and inaccuracies it must be allowed to be a necessary part of every lawyer's library. It is indeed a most useful compilation, and would have been infinitely more so, if the author had been less singular and more nice in his arrangement of method and more studious in avoiding repetitions.'—Bacon's (or more properly Gilbert's) Abridgment is more full in the developement of principles and the statement of cases; and, in every respect but copiousness, is a superiour production. It is incomplete; but this was the hard fate of all the writings of the most learned author, which were sent into the literary world with all their original imperfections on their head. For ourselves we confess that, in our opinion every other abridgment suffers greatly in comparison with the Digest of Lord Chief Baron Comyns. For succinctness and brevity, for exact method and arrangement, for perspicuity and accuracy, for copiousness in principles and illustrations, and for comprehensive analysis, it stands unrivalled in the annals of the law. On one occasion Lord Kenyon (Pasley *v.* Freeman. 3 T. R. 51, 64.) said, 'I find it laid down by the Lord C. B. Comyns, &c. He has not indeed cited any authority for his opinion, but his opinion alone is of great authority, since he was considered by his cotemporaries as the most able lawyer in Westminster Hall.' In some other more recent cases the court of kings bench have proceeded to adjudicate some very important questions upon the sole authority of his Digest,* an honour which we believe

* We take this opportunity to enter our protest against that book making spirit, which has disfigured all the modern editions of this incomparable work. The original edition in folio (1762) is far superiour to all the later editions. These have the addition of the modern cases, it is true;

has never been conceded to any other compiler. It has frequently occured to us, that our professional brethren of the south did not sufficiently appreciate the merits of this work. They appear to be devoted to Bacon's Abridgment, and pass over Comyns' Digest as a book merely of occasional reference, entitled to little either of praise or blame. How otherwise can we account for Mr. Hoffman's omission, under the article of pleading, to recommend the admirable title Pleader in the Digest, a title which has collected and exhausted in a most scientifick order the whole principles of the science. The title 'pleas and pleadings' in Bacon's Abridgment is an excellent sketch; but it is but a sketch, and compared with the title of Comyns just mentioned is but twilight to the meridian day.—We would respectfully ask the attention of Mr. Hoffman and of southern lawyers in general to the following observations of Mr. Hargrave. 'The whole of Lord Chief Baron Comyns' work is equally remarkable for its great variety of matter, its compendious and accurate expressions, and the excellence of its methodical distribution; but the title 'Pleader' seems to have been the author's favourite one, and that in which he principally exerted himself.' (Co. Litt. 17. *a.* note. 1.)

The remark too of Mr. Hoffman, that 'the books of reports contain the law in the precise phraseology in which it was administered by the judges,' requires some qualification. With the exception of the Reports of Plowden, Coke, and Vaughan, and a very few great cases in other Reports, the remark can scarcely be said to be true of any Reporter before the time of Sir James Burrow. There are some other unimportant particulars in which we differ from Mr. Hoffman; but with these trifling exceptions, we entirely agree in the opinions of Mr. Hoffman as to the importance and utility of reading the original Reports. We presume that the omission to notice the Massachusetts Reports in company with Mr. Johnson's, Mr. Binney's, and Messrs. Henning & Munford's was accidental; for if we do not deceive ourselves, in point of learning and accuracy they yield to few, if any, in our country.

What particularly pleases us is the enlarged and liberal view with which Mr. Hoffman recommends the student of the com-

but they consist of the marginal notes of the Reporters thrust into the text without order or propriety, and destroy symmetry, and connexion.—A supplement of modern cases and principles upon the plan of Comyns' Digest, in a distinct work, would be an invaluable present to the profession.

mon law to a full and careful study of the admiralty, maritime and civil law. If the note on the excellence of the civil law (p. 254) were not too long, we should gladly insert it in this place. We commend it however, as well as his observations on the law of nations and the admiralty law, most earnestly, to all those who aspire to eminence as statesmen, or scholars or lawyers. To Mr. Hoffman s list of books on these subjects we beg leave to add Heineccius' Elements of the civil Law according to the order of the Institutes and the Pandects, whom Sir James Mackintosh has not scrupled to pronounce 'the best writer of elementary books, with whom *he* is acquainted on any subject.'* We also recommend Ferrieve's Dictionaire de Droit et de Pratique, Calvinus' Lexicon Juridicum, M. Dessaules' Dictionaire du Digeste, Exton and Zouch and Spelman on the Admiralty Jurisdiction Cleiraac's; Us et coutumes de la mer, Emerigon Traitè des Assurances, Pothier's works and particularly his Treatises on maritime contracts, Boucher's Translation of the Consolato del mare, Peckins ad rem nauticum, d'Abreu sur les Prisas, and though last, not least, Caseregis' Discursus de Commercio.

We must now hasten to a close, although there are some discussions which the perusal of Mr. Hoffman's work has suggested, which we very reluctantly pass over. In quitting the work we have not the slightest hesitation to declare, that it contains by far the most perfect system for the study of the law, which has ever been offered to the publick. The writers, whom he recommends, are of the very best authority; and his own notes are composed in a tone of the most enlarged philosophy, and abound in just and discriminating criticism and in precepts calculated to elevate the moral as well as intellectual character of the profession. The course, proposed by him, is very ample, and would probably consume seven years of close study. But much may be omitted where time and opportunity are wanting to exhaust it. We cordially recommend it to all lawyers as a model for the direction of the students who may be committed to their care; and we hazard nothing in asserting that if its precepts are steadily pursued,

* Sir James Mackintosh's introductory Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations is a most finished composition, abounding in all the graces of juridical eloquence, and pregnant with most important and edifying learning.

high as the profession now stands in our country, it will attain a higher elevation, an elevation, which shall command the reverence of Europe, and reflect back light and glory upon the land and the law of our forefathers.

We have another motive besides the intrinsick value of the work, for recommending it earnestly to the perusal of our readers. It will demonstrate to the understanding of every discerning man the importance, nay the necessity, of the law school which the Government of Harvard College have so honourably to themselves established at Cambridge. No work can sooner dissipate the common delusion, that the law may be thoroughly acquired in the immethodical, interrupted and desultory studies of the office of a practising counsellor. Such a situation is indispensable after the student shall have laid a foundation in elementary principles under the guidance of a learned and discreet lecturer. He will then be prepared to reap the full benefits of the practice of an attorney's office. But without such elementary instruction, he will waste a great deal of time in useless and discouraging efforts; or become a patient drudge, versed in the forms of conveyancing and pleading, but incapable of ascending to the principles which guide and govern them; or sink into a listless indolence and inactivity, waiting for the arrival of the regular period for his admission to the bar, without one qualification to justify the honour which he receives. One year passed at the university in attendance upon the lectures of the very respectable gentleman, who has recently been appointed to preside over the law school there, would lay a foundation of solid learning, upon which our ingenuous and ambitious youth might confidently hope to build a fabrick of professional fame, which would carry them to the first honours of the bar, and make them, on the bench, the ornaments of their country.

ART. IV. *Memoirs of my own times. By General James Wilkinson.*

———Remember that the ways of Heaven,
Though dark, are just; that oft some guardian power
Attends unseen, to save the innocent!
But if high Heaven decrees our fall—O let us
Firmly await the stroke; prepared alike
To live or die. BROWN'S BARBAROSSA.

For Patriots still must fall for statesmen's safety,
And perish by the country they preserve. SAVAGE.

Philadelphia; Abraham Small. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 2295.

THERE is hardly any class of books that is read with more avidity, than the memoirs of individuals, whom talents or chance, or the joint influence of both, has distinguished in society. They may be said to lead us to the hidden sources of events, to secluded fountains and rivulets, which are afterwards swallowed up in the mighty current of history, where their tributes are blended and lost in the majesty and rapidity of the stream. They place us behind the scene, and we observe how the stage effect is produced, which is so imposing at a distance. If in this way some illusions are destroyed, we are compensated by a more accurate knowledge of the machinery and the actors of the drama. Our pleasure as mere spectators may be diminished, but our capacity of judging is improved; we learn to distinguish more accurately between falsehood and truth, and to avoid being dazzled by mere tinsel, which in the glare of false lights may pass with the vulgar for gold. The meanest of the troop, with the aid of paint, purple and gilt embroidery, may 'enact a king and make a most royal appearance;' but Cato or Brutus or Cicero, in the plain garb of a Roman senator, will owe all their importance to the talents of the actor; and as they are without disguise, so the more closely we examine them, the more they will rise in our estimation.

The ancients have left us but few works of this description, though what they have, are indeed masterpieces. We may form some estimate of what we have to regret on this score, by considering the value of what we possess. The abbé Bar-

thelemy, with great learning and exquisite taste, has partly supplied this defect in one of the most interesting periods of Greece, by the fictitious travels of Anacharsis; of which design a less perfect execution had been previously attempted in the Athenian Letters. This want of individual memoirs, of private anecdote, of personal and unofficial narratives, leaves our curiosity unsatisfied, respecting many of the events and much of the social condition of antiquity. From the few anecdotes and familiar details which have reached us, we are obliged to generalize too much; we may indeed produce a grand historical picture where the actors will be severe, energetick and dignified; their only attendants the Lictors with the Fasces, and the whole scenery the Forum or the Capitol; these will appear with all the decorum suited to publick exposure and the observation of history; but the painting of more graceful and smiling scenery, the garden, the villa, the saloon, the domestick and familiar groups within them; the private intercourse, the subordinate springs, and primary combinations, which form interesting cabinet pictures, are almost wholly wanting. We may hear Demosthenes haranguing, or witness the judgments of the Areopagus; but we cannot listen to the conversations of Socrates and Aspasia; or observe that mother governed by a froward child, ruling her husband who governed Greece.

In modern literature these works have been abundant in proportion to their popularity. Statesmen, generals, priests, philosophers, poets, actors, artists, courtiers, magistrates, princesses, courtezans, and even tradesmen have left us their memoirs. When we choose therefore to go behind the records of history, we become intimately acquainted 'with the *characters* of divers eminent persons, the mutability of *councils*, the remarkableness of *actions*, the subtlety of *pretensions*, and the drifts of several *interests*.'* We have the whole mechanism of society laid open to us, all the infirmities and all the strength of human character; the fireside scenes, the confidential dialogues, the secret intrigues are all displayed, all the windings of the human heart, all the modifications of social relation are exposed to our reflection; the houses are all unroofed, and without an Asmodeus for a *Cicerone*, we may examine the interiour and their inhabitants, as we do the

* Rushworth Pref. His. Col.

working of bees in a glass hive, at our leisure, and without fear of their stings.

The French have produced more works of this description than any other people. They are to be found coeval with the origin of modern literature ; and these, though much of their language is obsolete, being written before modern languages became fixed by the authority of dictionaries and academies, abound in interest from the antiquated naivete and familiarity of their style, from the absence of constraint imposed by refinement, and of palpable intention to produce *effect*, which makes so many of the works of our times theatrical, without being dramatick. This department of French literature is fruitful of variety, as well as amusement and instruction. The consummate ability, the profligate intrigues and the masterly maxims drawn from the exercise of both, by the Cardinal de Retz, in times of commotion and civil broils, furnish useful lessons to a statesman ; while the integrity, simplicity and skill of Henry the Fourth's faithful friend and minister, are noble models for emulation. We do not indeed find many such memoirs as those of de Retz, and de Sully, which afford so fine a contrast displayed by themselves, of great statesmen ; the one combining profligacy with talent, the other virtue and skill ; but every period offers us some which characterize it ; the garrulity and superstitious tales of the Duke of St. Simon give us many lively traits of the court of Louis XIV. and those which come next in order are a striking instance of how naturally the profligacy and corruption of the period of the Regency succeeded to the superstition and gloom which oppressed the brilliant court in the latter years of the old monarch. The military memoirs are numerous, for those who relish the descriptions of battles and sieges, and the increasing influence of literature is shewn by the number of accounts of themselves and their concerns by men of letters. One of the latest of these, the memoirs of Marmontel, furnishes one of the most finished and interesting specimens of the whole series ; the still more recent and voluminous collection of the Baron de Grimm, contains little of the author, but is a treasure to draw from for the history of the literature, the society, and the politics of that eventful period when the preparations were making and all the mines charging, that were to explode in the French revolution.

At a period, and in a nation where women had such extensive influence and so large a share and agency even in political events, it would be naturally expected that we should have their testimony also. They have contributed some of the most lively, graceful and instructive volumes in this class. Madame de la Fayette, the letters of Madame de Sevignè, and almost a regular series from them down to Madame Roland and the Marchioness de la Roche Jacquelein, have portrayed to us the gallantries and festivities of the court, and all the movements of society, even to the stern actions of political revolution, and the ferocious transactions of civil war. The work of the last of these ladies may be cited as a striking instance of the value of memoirs, in not only furnishing materials for history, but in giving us details with fidelity and simplicity, and in a manner more affecting and picturesque than history could adopt. There are several histories of the war of La Vendee; but still the world had a most imperfect idea of its causes, its character and its progress, till they were presented with the admirable and deeply interesting picture by Madame de la Roche Jacquelein. The memoirs of this lady recal those of Mrs. Hutchinson, which if inferiour to the former are yet not wanting in interest. When it falls to the lot of women to witness the events and narrate the horrours of civil commotions, there is a strong interest in the very contrast of their own gentleness, and the ferocious violence they describe.

There is one trait of human character exhibited in some modern memoirs, which is worthy of particular remark. This is the narration of personal failings and vices, which otherwise might have remained unknown and buried with the author. Vanity has seldom shewn itself in more perverse and reprehensible shapes, than when it has been thus occupied in giving to the world a self-exposure of disgraceful actions. The love of novelty, and paradox, the rage for distinction and the habit of false reasoning in the eloquent 'self-torturing sophist, wild Rousseau,' produced his useless and disgusting Confessions. An exposure nearly as bad of a youth mispent and almost stupidly vicious has been made by the ardent, haughty Alfieri—he relates the manner in which he wasted the first half of his life, not so much for showing how nobly he retrieved it; but in a cold, proud, disdainful manner, as if he would shew his contempt for man-

kind, by voluntarily furnishing evidence against himself, that he might then despise even their well-founded opinion. When St. Augustin in his confessions relates the disorders and licentiousness of his early life, it is with a view to self-mortification and christian repentance. There can hardly be three more dissimilar characters, than the African Bishop, the Citizen of Geneva, and the Italian Dramatist; but some knowledge of the human heart would be obtained in comparing different points in their lives, as given by themselves, their operation in modifying their characters, and their motives for communicating them.

The few memoirs which we have here alluded to, and which are amongst those most generally known, are all written by the persons themselves. Another class, equally numerous, is the one which gives us accounts of one individual written by another. Those of the former description are the most difficult of execution, and the most interesting in perusal. To write justly of one's self, neither with false modesty nor unreasonable presumption, demands great taste, ingenuousness and discretion. If we were called on to designate a work in each class, we should be inclined to name Boswell's Johnson as the most valuable effort of the second; and the memoirs of Barthelemy by himself, which are prefixed to the later editions of his Anacharsis, as the most exquisite performance in the first. In our own country, we have no work of this kind that equals Dr. Franklin's memoirs of his own life, which is, indeed, one of the best models that any country has produced.

The period in which a man lives, who writes an account of his own times, is of great importance in securing an interest for his work. His talents may not only be greatly assisted, we had almost said dispensed with, if he is fortunate enough to exist in an era fruitful in events, which have a lasting influence on the affairs of mankind. There are frequent intervals in history, sometimes of considerable duration, when all the transactions, whether of war or peace, have a vapid tone of routine, in which there is no leading interest of any kind. In such periods we have military memoirs, giving us relations of battles that have displayed a requisite degree of military skill, and consumed a due proportion of mercenary soldiers, and left the combatants in the same situation in which they commenced, excepting a little more

burthen on their finances, and a few more wretches in their hospitals. We have also memoirs of statesmen, which tell us of speeches, and negotiations, and intrigues, where we have the common appendages of declamation, chicane and meanness; and the results produce no variation in the political standing of the parties, no gain to the great principles of civilization and humanity, no one permanent acquisition, to the cause of liberty or enlarged policy.

There are other epochs fortunate or disastrous, the very reverse of these, when some new nation makes its appearance on the stage of the world, or some ancient empire crumbles into ruins; when the energy of freedom and virtue converts a waste of stagnant marshes into fortresses impregnable to all the attacks of irritated tyranny and remorseless superstition; or shakes from a great people the chains of colonial abasement and oppression, and gives it at once a high standing among the nations of the earth; when a brutal military usurpation, the licentiousness of Pretorian guards, or the progress of the Crescent, subverts an enervated government, or quenches, in overwhelming desolation, the last glimmerings of science and the arts. If the relation of events like these abounds in animation, the study of the preparatory causes and circumstances is replete with instruction. It is not the glare of titled ostentation, or the numbers of armed legions which engage our greatest interest; it is the principles contended for and the results which ensue. The surface of Flanders is fretted with hillocks that cover the bones of the myriads, which have fallen on its plains; yet how few of those sanguinary battles, where destruction was accompanied with all 'the pomp and circumstance of war,' excites the interest which we feel for the defenders of Thermopylæ or of Bunker Hill.

If then the interest which we take in any particular period of history, is in proportion to the elevation of the principles which occupy it, the successful assertion of them, and their bearing and consequences on the affairs of mankind at large; what struggle in this jarring world can more strongly rouse every sympathy and excite more deep reflection, than that which terminated in the independence of the United States. What revolution, as it may in some respects be called, has been more the result of a long train of causes, or tended more to advance the great interests of mankind,

and notwithstanding the calamities which were produced by some of its consequences, has combined more intimately with the general progress of liberty, intelligence, and civilization? What contest has ever discovered greater firmness and energy in those who originated it, developed more noble examples of moderation and integrity in those who maintained it; and more fully justified its authors by its results, and more nobly rewarded them by the applause of the world and the happiness of their country?

It is gratifying to find that in the relations referring to this period, such a variety of anecdotes will be found for the use of history, as will throw a strong light on all its characters and events, more especially those of a military cast. We already possess the separate memoirs of many military men who were engaged in the contest, and may probably receive others.* Where we have some fears of a deficiency, is in the private history of the origin of civil transactions, of which the military events were only a consequence. The characters of the colonial governours and of the principal individuals in the different colonies, and their agency in co-operation or opposition towards the English ministry from 1750 to 1775, are very imperfectly known; yet the feelings which produced the declaration of the Fourth of July were in a process of gradual excitement and developement during this whole period. We know of but one person capable of describing this political series; on some of the points, we believe, he has committed to writing some confidential testimony; we hope that the protracted vigour of a long, laborious, and honourable life, may induce him to preserve some details, which else must perish.

It is time to say something of the work before us. The generality of readers will have a less arduous task than they would at first imagine, from the imposing size of these volumes, since but few persons will be disposed to go through the two last. The first volume contains an account of the author's origin and outset in life, his joining the army at Cambridge in 1775—of the military events in which he was concerned, to the year 1778—the part taken by him while commanding the army in Louisiana from 1797 to 1812—a critical review of the affair at Bladensburg—a his-

* Generals Moultrie, Heath, and Lee in our service—General Tarleton in the English, and some others.

tory of the engagements in Canada by the army commanded by general Brown—his own movements while commanding a division of the army on our frontier—and at the close, an account of the affair of Bunker Hill and some other transactions of the revolutionary war. The second volume is exclusively occupied with the court martail by which he was tried in 1811, and the documents appertaining to it. The third volume is in like manner entirely devoted to a court martial, held for the same purpose in 1815, with an appendix of documents. These two volumes contain many documents and much information, which will be valuable to the historian; this is more particularly true of the second volume, as it takes up the period from 1789 to 1809, and includes many minute details of various important occurrences in the affairs of Louisiana. The third volume will interest many who had directly or indirectly a personal share in the campaign, which is the subject of it. General readers will, however, confine themselves to the first volume.

General Wilkinson does not mention the year of his birth, but from other dates it was about the year 1757, in Maryland, near the village of Benedict on the Patuxent. He was educated at home, and very early commenced the study of medicine under an uncle, who had been a surgeon in the army commanded by general Wolfe, and to his uncle's description of the actions in Canada, he attributes his early predilection for a military life. In 1773, being then seventeen, he was sent by his mother, his father having died some years before, to the medical school of Philadelphia; the day after his arrival he visited the barracks, then occupied by a part of the 18th regiment, and witnessing the parade of the men, he was fascinated with the perfection of their evolutions, and his previous disposition towards a military life was strengthened. He alludes to his having fought a duel while pursuing his studies at Philadelphia; on account of some sarcasms from his companions, occasioned by his preferring the society of virtuous women to that of the contrary description. In 1775 he returned home to practise his profession, but the bursting troubles of the period that occupied every mind, wrought strongly upon the author's enthusiasm. He became one of an independent company in Georgetown, commanded by a quaker from Rhode Island. After the battle of Bunker Hill, being no longer able to restrain his inclination, he

abandoned his profession, and repaired to the camp at Cambridge as a volunteer. In march 1776 general Washington gave him a captain's commission in colonel Read's New Hampshire regiment, being at the time attached to general Green's staff, which regiment he joined at New York the next month. He speaks with regret of a circumstance which occurred on taking command of his company; the lieutenant, who was a veteran, but not promoted for want of sufficient education, had expected to obtain the command of the company. On the parade the first order given by the young captain was not obeyed, and the lieutenant stepping up asked him whither he intended to march the men. He immediately put him in arrest for mutiny, and after some explanations told the men if his next order was not obeyed, he should begin with the nearest man, run him through the body, and proceed thus with the whole company if necessary. He had no further trouble. His regiment was ordered to join the northern army, in which he served in New York and Canada under Arnold. In July 1776 he was appointed a brigade major, and in December he was sent by general Gates to general Washington with despatches; he joined the latter on the banks of the Delaware, and assisted in the memorable affairs at Trenton and Princeton. In January 1777, general Washington appointed him a lieutenant colonel, with authority to name the officers in three of the companies; on general Gates' being appointed to the command of the northern army he resigned his commission of lieutenant colonel in the line, to occupy his former station of inferiour rank in the staff. This extraordinary step excited many remarks at the time; he says he was prompted to it by his zeal for the publick service, thinking he could do more good in that quarter from his local knowledge. When general Gates was to be superseded by General Schuyler, he appointed, by a general order, colonel Wilkinson, adjutant general of the army. When general Gates again resumed the command, he appears to have relied much on his adjutant's opinion, and to have followed his advice in some important occurrences. On the surrender of Burgoyne, he was sent to Congress with the official despatches announcing that important event,* and there-

* While carrying these despatches, which were of such paramount interest, he made a halt at Reading, and Congress received the news first from

upon received the brevet of brigadier general. He returned to general Gates, and while with the army received an appointment of Secretary of the Board of War, of which general Gates was president. The discovery of some intrigues of Gates respecting a letter of general Conway, abusing general Washington, and in which Wilkinson was implicated by the conduct of the former, produced an open rupture between him and Gates, and his resignation of his place of secretary of the Board of War, because he would not serve with Gates after his disgraceful conduct. He resigned his brevet of brigadier general, and in July 1779 was appointed clothier general to the army, and here he closes his account of his career at that period.

After the peace in 1783, the general went to reside in Kentucky with his family, and engaged in some mercantile transactions, particularly in a contract for tobacco with the Spanish governour of Louisiana. Disgusted with trade, he entered again into the army, was employed in various points on our extensive frontiers, had an interview with general Hamilton when he was appointed to the army in 1798, and presented to him a general view of our military posts on the frontiers. He returned to his command on the Mississippi when peace was restored with France, received Louisiana from the French, as joint commissioner with governour Claiborne; remained in command in that country till his court martial in 1811; when, after being honourably acquitted, he returned thither, and when the late war came on, he was occupied in making defensive preparations to secure New Orleans. In 1813 he was ordered to join the army on the frontiers of Canada. His operations while in that command were not successful, accusations were made against him, he was tried by a general court martial in 1815, and honourably acquitted. On the new organization of the army after the peace, he was not included in the list of the officers retained in the establishment. This is a cursory sketch of general Wilkinson's career, as he has given an account of it in these volumes. His memoirs of his life in

common report. He says, in speaking of this journey, that he was so debilitated by sickness as to be unable to travel with greater rapidity. The circumstance of his delay gave occasion to a bon mot by Samuel Adams, or as some say Dr. Witherspoon, when it was a question of voting him a sword or some other reward, he observed, that *it would be proper to give him a pair of spurs.*

the first volume terminate in the year 1778 ; of the next ten years we know nothing, and the events of the latter years we have gleaned from the accounts of the courts martial. He proposes to continue the memoirs of his life, and furnish additional anecdotes of the revolutionary war, which we hope he will perform.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in the preface to his history, gives a quaint piece of advice to the reader, 'that he should not follow truth at the heels too closely, lest it strike out his teeth,' which some of the readers of these memoirs would do well to consider. The author apologises for the imperfection of his book, by alleging the haste in which it was written, and his having no pretensions to fine writing. He has, however, given sufficient proofs of his ability to write well, and to produce a valuable work, if he would arrange his thoughts with more care, trace his plan more methodically, and above all divest himself of passion and allay his resentments. These break out continually, and sometimes so unexpectedly as to be ludicrous. The principal object of his anger is Mr. Madison ;—Mr. John Randolph, Dr. Eustis, generals Armstrong, Hampton, Brown, Scott and others come in for a share.

General Wilkinson, 'in the winter of his discontent,' sees all the sources of abuse, which are obvious to the veriest demagogue of the day ; standing armies and navies, expensive fortifications, congressional salaries, monied aristocracy, &c. &c.—and he talks against them 'in good set terms.' Yet it is principally the danger of military power, of an *enormous* standing army, of near 10,000 men, which is utterly to subvert our constitution ; the occupation of his whole life has led him to appreciate the danger on this score justly—we think his conduct in this respect not very becoming ; when a man has had a strong love of a profession and served in it forty years, even if he is obliged to abandon it unjustly, he owes it to himself to speak of it with respect ; and least of all can general Wilkinson, after the experience of his whole life, be ignorant of the necessity of a small army, to serve in case of need, as the foundation for a larger one ; and how barely our present force suffices for the preservation of the fortifications on our immense frontiers, and how utterly absurd it is to talk of danger to our institutions from such a force, so distributed.

With this belief in the necessity of a small standing army, we yield to none in our abhorrence of military tyranny, or jealous watchfulness of any attempt at military interference in our civil concerns. Important as our small military establishment is, to the preservation of the means of defence, yet it would be swept out of existence by the first expression of popular feeling. The administration should therefore observe every transaction with solicitude, that implicates the conduct of a military officer; and where any one is guilty of folly or indiscretion towards the publick, some token of disapprobation from the proper department should follow his offence.

In noticing a man's memoirs of his own life, we are almost necessarily called upon to say something of his character. Of general Wilkinson we know nothing but from this book, and after reading it, we should be inclined to say, that many of his faults and misfortunes have been owing to his having attained promotion too early, and too rapidly, (for he rose in two years, and before he was of age,) to the brevet rank of brigadier general. The same dispositions, which in a slower and steadier course, would have been disciplined and properly matured, were injured, by his being prematurely invested with high authority. This may have induced presumption, haughtiness, and a want of that just bearing, which conciliates those around us, while it maintains true dignity. We suspect too that he has sometimes forgotten, that 'there is also a certain hypocrisy in business, whether civil or military, which they will do well to observe, who, not satisfied with discharging their duty, desire also the good report of men;'* and though we do not reproach him very strongly for wanting this, which is the sole support of so many sorry minds, yet there must be prodigious merit to be able to do without it.—He possesses respectable talents, considerable science, and long experience in military affairs, gallantry of spirit, frankness, a superiority to mercenary views; and having promptly engaged in the service of his country when it was a hazardous one, after having a considerable share in some important events, and been more than thirty years enrolled in its service, it seems a hard case that he should be turned adrift in the world. This, however, is the lot to which every man, who

* Preface to memoirs of captain Carleton.

serves his country, is exposed, and when he engages in the publick service, he should make up his mind to it; he must have a spirit of high disinterestedness; he must act for his contemporaries, and look for his reward to posterity; and the very consciousness of acting on such high grounds is itself the noblest remuneration.

On looking over the amount of extracts we had noted, we are compelled by want of room to omit two letters from president Adams and general Hamilton in the second volume; and this we regret not only on account of the testimony they bear to general Wilkinson's character, but for the sake of the open, honourable and statesmanlike principles they contain. These may be found at p. 154 in the 2d vol. and were produced at his court martial in 1811. On this occasion his whole conduct, publick and private, for twenty years, was implicated, and the treatment he received, might be sonsidered in many respects as persecution. These letters answer for his character, at least up to the period at which they were written.

After Sir Guy Carlton's return to Canada at the approach of winter in 1776, general Gates dismissed the militia and concentrated his remaining force at Albany—general Washington, after his retreat from New-York, had sent him orders to join him. On his march Gates, being without information of general Washington's situation, became excessively anxious, and Wilkinson volunteered to be the bearer of a letter, and gain information. In his way through the Jerseys, he came almost by accident upon general Lee, and was present at the moment of his capture. The narration of this scene is lively, the contrast between the cynical soldier Lee, and the Connecticut *light horse* in full bottomed wigs, is highly characteristick of the hastily collected and various medley, that formed our force in the commencement of the struggle. Lee's capture was a vexatious but doubtless a fortunate event, as intrigues were carrying on to make him commander in chief.

'I was presented to the general as he lay in bed, and delivered into his hands the letter of general Gates. He examined the superscription, and observed it was addressed to general Washington, and declined opening it, until I apprised him of the contents and the motives of my visit; he then broke the seal and read it, after which he desired me to take repose. I lay down on my blanket before a comfortable fire, amidst the officers of his suite; for we were not in those days incumbered with beds or baggage.—

I arose at the dawn, but could not see the general, with whom I had been previously acquainted, before eight o'clock. After some inquiries respecting the conduct of the campaign on the northern frontier, he gave me a brief account of the operations of the grand army, which he condemned in strong terms. He observed, 'that our seige of Boston had led us into great errors; that the attempt to defend islands against a superiour land and naval force was madness; that Sir William Howe could have given us *check-mate* at his discretion; and that we owed our salvation to his indolence, or disinclination to terminate the war.—When I reached the army on York island,' said Lee, 'all hands were busily employed in collecting materials and erecting barracks; and I found little Mifflin exulting in the prospect of fine winter quarters at Kingsbridge. I replied to him, *winter quarters here, sir!* and the British army still in the field! Go, set fire to those you have built, and get away by the light, or Sir William Howe will find quarters for you.'

'This advice of Lee was generally understood; it obtained for him merited applause, and general Washington gave him due credit for it. He had also been opposed to the occupancy of fort Washington, and the fall of that place enhanced his military reputation, while unavoidable misfortunes, and the unfortunate issue of the campaign, originating in causes beyond the control of the commander in chief, had quickened the discontents generated at Cambridge, and raised a party against him in Congress; and it was confidently asserted at the time, but is not worthy of credit, that a motion had been made in that body, tending to supercede him in the command of the army. In this temper of the times, if general Lee had anticipated general Washington, in cutting the cordon of the enemy between New York and the Delaware, the commander in chief would probably have been superseded, and the man, who lived the darling of his country, and died the admiration of the world, might have been consigned to retirement or oblivion. In this case Lee would have succeeded him, whose manifold infirmities would have been obscured by that honest but blind enthusiasm of the public, which never stoops to compare causes and effects, much less to analyse motives and measures.

'General Lee wasted the morning in altercation with certain militia corps who were of his command, particularly the Connecticut light horse,* several of whom appeared in large full-bottomed perukes, and were treated very irreverently; the call of the adjutant general for orders, also occupied some of his time, and we did

* 'One wanted forage, another his horse shod, another his pay, a fourth provisions, &c.—to which the general replied, 'Your wants are numerous; but you have not mentioned the last—you want to go home, and shall be indulged, for damn you, you do no good here.''

not sit down to breakfast before 10 o'clock. General Lee was engaged in answering general Gates's letter, and I had risen from the table, and was looking out of an end window, down a lane about one hundred yards in length, which led to the house from the main road, when I discovered a party of British dragoons turn a corner of the avenue at a full charge. Startled at this unexpected spectacle, I exclaimed, 'here, sir, are the British cavalry.' '*Where?*' replied the general, who had signed his letter in the instant.' 'Around the house;' for they had opened files, and encompassed the building. General Lee appeared alarmed, yet collected, and his second observation marked his self-possession: 'Where is the guard?—damn the guard, why don't they fire?' and after a momentary pause, he turned to me and said, 'do, sir, see what has become of the guard.' The women of the house at this moment entered the room, and proposed to him to conceal himself in a bed, which he rejected with evident disgust. I caught up my pistols which lay on the table, thrust the letter he had been writing into my pocket, and passed into a room at the opposite end of the house, where I had seen the guard in the morning. Here I discovered their arms; but the men were absent. I stepped out of the door, and perceived the dragoons chasing them in different directions, and receiving a very uncivil salutation, I returned into the house.

'Too inexperienced immediately to penetrate the motives of this enterprize, I considered the *rencontre* accidental, and from the terrific tales spread over the country, of the violence and barbarity of the enemy, I believed it to be a wanton murdering party, and determined not to die without company. I accordingly sought a position where I could not be approached by more than one person at a time, and with a pistol in each hand I waited the expected search, resolved to shoot the first and the second person who might appear, and then to appeal to my sword. I did not remain long in this unpleasant situation, but was apprised of the object of of the incursion by the very audible declaration, '*if the general does not surrender in five minutes, I will set fire to the house;*' which after a short pause was repeated with a solemn oath; and within two minutes I heard it proclaimed, '*here is the general, he has surrendered.*' A general shout ensued, the trumpet sounded the assembly, and the unfortunate Lee, mounted on my horse, which stood ready at the door, was hurried off in triumph, bareheaded, in his slippers and blanket coat, his collar open, and his shirt very much soiled from several days' use.

'General Lee merited severe punishment for his neglect of duty and disobedience of orders, and he received it from an unexpected hand. His offence was well understood by the army, and his misfortune was unpitied by those who reflected on the cause of it. It is a fact, he had very strong reasons for his neglect of general

Washington's reiterated commands ; but although they were not such as to justify the violation of a fundamental military principle, yet I verily believe his motives were patriotic, though intimately connected with a sinister ambition ; for I am persuaded that in the moment of his capture, he meditated a stroke against the enemy, which, in its consequences, would have depressed general Washington, elevated himself, and *immediately* served the cause of the United States. This opinion is supported by the following letter to general Gates.

'*Basking Ridge, Dec.* 13*th*, 1776.

'My dear Gates,

'The ingenious manœuvre of fort Washington has unhinged the goodly fabric we had been building. There never was so damned a stroke. *Entre nous*, a certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation, where I have my choice of difficulties ; if I stay in this province, I risk myself and army ; and if I do not stay, the province is lost forever. I have neither guides, cavalry, medicines, money, shoes or stockings. I must act with the greatest circumspection. Tories are in my front, rear, and on my flanks ; the mass of the people is strangely contaminated ; in short, unless something, which I do not expect, turns up, we are lost ; our counsels have been weak to the last degree. As to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the general, I would have you by all means go ; you will at least save your army. It is said that the whigs are determined to set fire to Philadelphia ; if they strike this decisive stroke, the day will be our own ; but unless it is done, all chance of liberty in any part of the globe is forever vanished. Adieu, my dear friend ! God bless you. 'CHARLES LEE.'

'Education and experience instructed general Lee that Sir William Howe, by pushing his front towards Philadelphia, must weaken his communication with his magazines at Brunswick, and expose his cordon of posts to be cut ; and he knew that the dissolution of a link in the chain would compel Sir William Howe to fall back and abandon a great portion of the conquests of the campaign ; he knew also, that the shew of military force in the Jerseys was necessary to hold the enemy in check, and keep alive the spirit of resistance in that state ; and that to hang on the flanks and rear of a victorious army, is the most effectual plan to impede its progress. Under these impressions, it would seem that general Lee had made the determination to violate his orders, to trust to his fortune, and to hazard his fame on the issue of some bold enterprize ; for we find him whiling away his time between the Hudson and the Delaware, by indolent marches and unnecessary halts, keeping always the route to general Washington's head quarters, but at the same time, watching the movements of

Sir William Howe, and waiting the period of his going into winter quarters. I have strong cause for belief, that the decisive moment had arrived, and that if Lee had not been made prisoner, he would have attacked the British post at Princeton the next morning, where the superiority of his force would have insured him success.

'So soon as lieutenant-colonel Harcourt retreated with his prize, I repaired to the stable, mounted the first horse I could find, and rode full speed to general Sullivan, whom I found under march towards Pluckamin. I had not examined general Lee's letter, but believing a knowledge of the contents might be useful to general Sullivan, who succeeded him in command, I handed it to him, who, after the perusal, returned it with his thanks, and advised me to rejoin general Gates without delay, which I did the next morning at Sussex court-house, whither he had led the troops from Van Kempt's.

'Lee's misfortune afflicted Gates profoundly; they had been long acquainted, had served together in the British army, and were personally attached; their politics and political connexions were in unison, and their sympathies and antipathies ran in the same current; yet long after and in misfortune they became estranged.'* p. 102—111.

We give the following extract from his account of the battle of Trenton, one of the most important events of the war, not from the numbers engaged, but from its consequences. A circumstance which the author mentions without much emphasis, conveys in one line a lively idea of the sufferings of our soldiers; he says, that he traced the route of the troops over the snow, '*which was tinged here and there with blood from the feet of the men who wore broken shoes.*' Another circumstance is worthy of remark; the present President of the United States, then a lieutenant, was in this action wounded in the shoulder. This fact had been so little talked about, that it was recently disputed in the newspapers. Now in these days of self-puffing, if this fortunate event had fallen on some shoulders, no man in the country would have been ignorant of it.

* 'General Lee, in answer to his old aid-de-camp, Edwards, on this subject, observed, 'The lady, who is a closer calculator than her husband, believed it would be more profitable to worship the rising sun, than stick to a fallen friend; she therefore determined to pay her court by turning me out of doors. I do not blame Gates, because he has fallen under a most damnable *gynæcoeracy*, and cannot help himself.' I read the letter, and quote from memory.'

'Boats were in readiness, and the troops began to cross about sunset, but the force of the current, the sharpness of the frost, the darkness of the night, the ice which made during the operation, and a high wind, rendered the passage of the river extremely difficult; and but for the stentorian lungs and extraordinary exertions of colonel Knox, it could not have been effected in season to favour the enterprize; indeed we were too late to have succeeded against an enemy less negligent and less secure, for it was 4 o'clock before the troops were formed and put in motion, at which time it began to hail and snow.

'The disposition of attack was made for two columns; the left led by the commander in chief, who was accompanied by generals Lord Sterling, Greene, Mercer, and Stevens, to make a circuit by the Pennington road and assault by King's, now Greene street; the right, under major-general Sullivan, which included the brigade of St. Clair, to keep the river road by General Dickenson's house, and enter the town by Water street. To give time for general Washington to effect his '*detour*,' that the attack might be simultaneous, general Sullivan was ordered to halt for a few minutes at the cross road, which leads to Howell's ferry, where he arrived about twilight. Soon after the halt, it was discovered by captain John Glover of the Marblehead regiment, that the best secured arms of the officers were wet, and not in firing condition. The communication was made to general Sullivan in presence of general St. Clair and the officers of their suites. Sullivan cast a look at St. Clair, and observed, 'What is to be done?' who instantly replied, 'You have nothing for it but to push on and charge.' We soon marched, colonel Stark in command of the advanced guard, the troops with orders to clear their muskets as they moved on in the best manner in their power, which occasioned a good deal of squibbing; in the mean time an officer was despatched to apprise the general of the state of our arms, who returned for answer by his aid-de-camp, colonel Samuel Webb, that we must 'advance and charge.' It was now broad day, and the storm beat violently in our faces; the attack had commenced on the left, and was immediately answered by colonel Stark in our front, who forced the enemy's picket, and pressed it into the town, our column being close at his heels. The enemy made a momentary shew of resistance by a wild and undirected fire from the windows of their quarters, which they abandoned as we advanced, and made an attempt to form in the main street, which might have succeeded but for a six gun battery opened by captain T. Forest, under the immediate orders of general Washington, at the head of King's street, which annoyed the enemy in various directions; and the decision of captain William Washington, who, seconded by lieutenant James Monroe, led the advanced guard of the left column, perceiving that

the enemy were endeavouring to form a battery, rushed forward, drove the artillerists from their guns, and took two pieces in the act of firing. These officers were both wounded in this charge; the captain in his wrist, the lieutenant through the fleshy part of his shoulder. These particular acts of gallantry have never been noticed, and yet they could not have been too highly appreciated, for if the enemy had got his artillery into operation in a narrow street, it might have checked our movement, and given him time to form and reflect; and if he had retired across the bridge in his rear and taken post, he would have placed a defile between us, which in our half naked, half frozen condition, he ought to have defended against our utmost efforts, and we in turn might have been compelled to retreat, which would have been fatal to us; but while I render justice to the services of Forest, Washington and Monroe, I must not withhold due praise from the dauntless Stark, who dealt death wherever he found resistance, and broke down all opposition before him.' p. 128—130.

The narrative of the subsequent events is highly interesting, but we have only room to extract some notice of general Mercer, who was killed in the skirmish at Princeton. This took place in a clear, frosty morning, and the rapidity of the pursuit was so exhilarating, and general Washington was so excited, that he cried out, '*It is a fine fox chase, my boys!*' In this affair Mr. John Donaldson, of the Philadelphia volunteer cavalry, made twenty prisoners; as he was liable to be shot when in advance by any straggler, he took up behind him a lieutenant Simpson, who if any resistance was offered, dismounted and shot the fugitive, and three men were knocked down in this way while taking aim at Mr. Donaldson. The American loss was very small in number, not exceeding thirty, but nearly half of these were officers, and some of great merit. General Mercer, having his horse wounded, was obliged to surrender and asked for quarter, but he was knocked down and received thirteen wounds with a bayonet; when feigning to be dead, one of his murderers exclaimed, 'damn him, he is dead, let us leave him!' He was taken up and languished a few days. The anecdotes of him shew the temper of the times, in the display of his motives, for engaging in the cause, and in his objection to the promotion of an officer who deserved it. So wholly devoted were many pure minds to the publick cause at that time, that any private advancement, or any thing which looked like personal ambition, seemed to them unworthy of an Ame-

rican soldier. General Wilkinson's account of Mercer's escape after Braddock's defeat, is contained in a note, and is an accumulation of horrour; the fancy of the poet or the artist could not go beyond it. An officer, escaping from a murderous defeat, wounded, alone, traversing a wilderness of an hundred miles, infested by lurking savages with a dead rattlesnake hanging on his shoulder for his sustenance, is beyond any of the conceptions of Salvator Rosa.

'On the night of the first of January, general Mercer, colonel C. Biddle, and doctor Cochran, spent the evening with general St. Clair. Fatigued with the duties of the day, I had lain down in the same apartment, and my attention was attracted by the turn of their conversation, on the recent promotion of captain William Washington, from a regiment of infantry to a majority of cavalry. Gen. Mercer expressed his disapprobation of the measure; at which the gentlemen appeared surprised, as it was the reward of acknowledged gallantry; and Mercer, in explanation, observed; 'We are not engaged in a war of ambition; if it had been so, I should never have accepted a commission under a man who had not seen a day's service (alluding to the great orator, and distinguished patriot, Patrick Henry;) we serve not for ourselves, but for our country, and every man should be content to fill the place in which he can be most useful. I know Washington to be a good captain of infantry, but I know not what sort of a major of horse he may make; and I have seen good captains make indifferent majors; for my own part, my views in this contest are confined to a single object, that is, the success of the cause, and God can witness how cheerfully I would lay down my life to secure it.' The compact was sealed, and within thirty-six hours he received his mortal wounds from the bayonets of the enemy.

'General Mercer, a Scotchman by birth, was a physician by profession. and I have heard the following interesting incident of his life. He served in the campaign of 1755, with general Braddock, and was wounded through the shoulder in the unfortunate action near Fort du Quesne; unable to retreat, he lay down under cover of a large fallen tree, and in the pursuit, an Indian leaped upon his covert immediately over him, and after looking about a few seconds for the direction of the fugitives, he sprung off without observing the wounded man who lay at his feet. So soon as the Indians had killed the wounded, scalped the dead, rifled the baggage, and cleared the field, the unfortunate Mercer, finding himself exceedingly faint and thirsty, from loss of blood, crawled to an adjacent brook, and after drinking plentifully, found himself so much refreshed, that he was able to walk, and commenced

his return by the road the army had advanced; but being without subsistence, and more than an hundred miles from any christian settlement, he expected to die of famine, when he observed a rattlesnake on his path, which he killed and contrived to skin, and throwing it over his sound shoulder, he subsisted on it as the claims of nature urged until he reached fort Cumberland on the Potowmack.' p. 146, 147.

While the American and British armies were on the North river in 1777, one of the most important actions that took place, previous to the final surrender of the latter, was the battle of the 7th of October—respecting which some interesting anecdotes are given.

'Having satisfied myself, after fifteen minutes' attentive observation, that no attack was meditated, I returned and reported to the general, who asked me what appeared to be the intentions of the enemy. 'They are foraging, and endeavouring to reconnoitre your left; and I think, sir, they offer you battle.' 'What is the nature of the ground, and what your opinion? 'Their front is open, and their flanks rest on woods, under cover of which they may be attacked; their right is skirted by a lofty height. I would indulge them.' 'Well, then, order on Morgan to begin the game.' I waited on the colonel, whose corps was formed in front of our centre, and delivered the order; he knew the ground, and inquired the position of the enemy; they were formed across a newly cultivated field, their grenadiers with several field pieces on the left, bordering on a wood and a small ravine formed by the rivulet before alluded to; their light infantry on the right, covered by a worm fence at the foot of the hill before mentioned, thickly covered with wood; their centre composed of British and German battalions. Colonel Morgan, with his usual sagacity, proposed to make a circuit with his corps by our left, and under cover of the wood to gain the height on the right of the enemy, and from thence commence his attack, so soon as our fire should be opened against their left; the plan was the best which could be devised, and no doubt contributed essentially to the prompt and decisive victory we gained.

'This proposition was approved by the general, and it was concerted that time should be allowed the colonel to make the proposed circuit, and gain his station on the enemy's right before the attack should be made on their left; Poor's brigade was ordered for this service, and the attack was commenced in due season on the flank and front of the British grenadiers, by the New Hampshire and New York troops. True to his purpose, Morgan at this critical moment poured down like a torrent from

the hill, and attacked the right of the enemy in front and flank. Dearborn at the moment, when the enemy's light infantry were attempting to change front, pressed forward with ardour and delivered a close fire; then leapt the fence, shouted, charged, and gallantly forced them to retire in disorder; yet headed by that intrepid soldier, the earl of Balcarras, they were immediately rallied and re-formed behind a fence in rear of their first position; but being now attacked with great audacity in front and flanks by superior numbers, resistance became vain, and the whole line, commanded by Burgoyne in person, gave way and made a precipitate and disorderly retreat to his camp, leaving two twelve and six six pounders on the field with the loss of more than 400 officers and men killed, wounded and captured, and among them the flower of his officers, viz. brigadier-general Frazer, major Ackland commanding the grenadiers, Sir Francis Clark, his first aid-de-camp, major Williams commanding officer of the artillery, captain Money deputy quarter-master general, and many others. After delivering the order to general Poor and directing him to the point of attack, I was peremptorily commanded to repair to the rear and order up Ten Broeck's brigade of York militia 3000 strong; I performed this service, and regained the field of battle at the moment the enemy had turned their backs, fifty-two minutes after the first shot was fired. I pursued the hard pressed flying enemy, passing over killed and wounded until I heard one exclaim, 'protect me, sir, against this boy.' Turning my eyes, it was my fortune to arrest the purpose of a lad, thirteen or fourteen years old, in the act of taking aim at a wounded officer who lay in the angle of a worm fence. Inquiring his rank, he answered, 'I had the honour to command the grenadiers;' of course, I knew him to be major Ackland, who had been brought from the field to this place, on the back of a captain Shrimpton of his own corps, under a heavy fire, and was here deposited, to save the lives of both. I dismounted, took him by the hand and expressed hopes that he was not badly wounded; 'not badly,' replied this gallant officer and accomplished gentleman, 'but very inconveniently, I am shot through both legs; will you sir have the goodness to have me conveyed to your camp?' I directed my servant to alight, and we lifted Ackland into his seat, and ordered him to be conducted to head-quarters. I then proceeded to the scene of renewed action, which embraced Burgoyne's right flank defence, and extending to his left, crossed a hollow covered with wood, about 40 rods to the entrechment of the light infantry; the roar of cannon and small arms at this juncture was sublime, between the enemy, behind their works, and our troops entirely exposed, or partially sheltered by trees, stumps, or hollows, at various distances not exceeding 120 yards. This right flank defence of

the enemy, occupied by the German corps of Breyman, consisted of a breast-work of rails piled horizontally between perpendicular pickets, driven into the earth, formed *en potence* to the rest of his line, and extended about 250 yards across an open field, and was covered on the right by a battery of two guns. The interval from the left to the British light infantry was committed to the defence of the provincialists, who occupied a couple of log cabins. The Germans were encamped immediately behind the rail breast-work, and the ground in front of it declined in a very gentle slope for about 120 yards, when it sunk abruptly; our troops had formed a line under this declivity, and covered breast high were warmly engaged with the Germans. From this position, about sunset, I perceived brigadier-general Learned advancing towards the enemy with his brigade, in open column, I think with colonel M. Jackson's regiment in front, as I saw lieutenant-colonel Brooks, who commanded it, near the general when I rode up to him; on saluting this brave old soldier, he inquired, 'where can I *put in* with most advantage.' I had particularly examined the ground between the left of the Germans and the light infantry, occupied by the provincialists, from whence I had observed a slack fire; I therefore recommended to general Learned to incline to his right, and attack at that point; he did so with great gallantry; the provincialists abandoned their position and fled; the German flank was by this means uncovered; they were assaulted vigorously, overturned in five minutes, and retreated in disorder, leaving their gallant commander, lieutenant-colonel Breyman, dead on the field. By dislodging this corps, the whole British encampment was laid open to us; but the extreme darkness of the night, the fatigue of the men, and the disorder incident to undisciplined troops after so desultory an action, put it out of our power to improve the advantage; and in the course of the night General Burgoyne broke up his camp and retired to his original position, which he had fortified behind the great ravine.'

p. 267—272.

Major Ackland, who was wounded and taken prisoner, was accompanied by his wife, whose strong conjugal affection gained her some celebrity. When her husband fell into our hands, she came with a flag and a letter from general Burgoyne to take care of him. Her reception at the American posts was misrepsented and made a subject of calumny against our army. Major (now general) Dearborn was the officer commanding, and general Wilkinson relates all the circumstances of her reception. He has given two long extracts and very interesting ones, from a journal published by

the baroness Reidesel, at Berlin, in 1800. She accompanied her husband, who was a general officer in Burgoyne's army; and lady Harriet Ackland, who might be called a fellow sufferer, is of course mentioned in it. She relates some anecdotes of general Schuyler, which mark his noble, generous character. It is always a subject of regret that this officer should have been deprived of the command of the army, and of the glory of capturing Burgoyne, to have both devolve upon Gates who was every way his inferiour. The following extract gives some further account of major Ackland, and we have marked it, because generous sentiments displayed between men engaged against each other in conflict, is an exhibition of the most elevated feelings.

Before we leave this part of these memoirs, we should willingly make some extracts relating to the convention of Saratoga, where it appears general Wilkinson rendered very essential service at a critical moment, but our limits will not permit. We have also omitted all mention of the serious difficulties in which the author was involved on account of general Conway's letter to Gates, reflecting on general Washington. Gates was a weak man, and Conway was what Washington styled him, 'a dangerous incendiary.' The reader will find the narrative of the whole campaign, which terminated in the surrender of general Burgoyne, replete with interest.

'A few days after my return to Albany, major Ackland with whose family I was on an intimate footing, spoke to me with some solicitude on the subject of the retaliation threatened by Congress, for the ill treatment of colonel Ethan Allen; he had made arrangements for lady Harriet's *accouchment* in that place, but became uneasy lest the threat should be carried into effect, and he be selected as the object. He asked my opinion as a friend, whether it would be most advisable to remain where he was, or to obtain leave to remove on his parole to New York. I did not hesitate to recommend the latter, because by being near the commander of his army, he might be able to accelerate his exchange, and by being out of sight, should retaliation take place, he might be overlooked. He then inquired how he could effect this purpose; and I offered him my assistance, on condition he would make me a pledge; he promised every thing in his power, and I advised him to propose to general Gates, that if he would parole him, he should exert his utmost influence to procure colonel Allen's exchange; and that, in case he did not succeed, then

he would use his exertions to procure the exchange of my fellow statesman and friend, major Otho Williams, with whom I had served at Cambridge, when he was a subaltern in the rifle company of captain Price, and who was suffering severely in captivity at the time, having been wounded and made prisoner at fort Washington in 1776. Major Ackland entered into this stipulation, and gave me his honour for the performance. His application to general Gates succeeded, and he removed with his precious charge to New York. I wrote major Williams by him, and on his arrival there, finding the major was confined on Long Island, major Ackland procured permission for him to visit the city, and accompanied it with an invitation to his house, introduced him to lady Harriet, distinguished him by the most generous and friendly attentions, and finally procured his exchange, not being able to succeed in that of colonel Allen. Ackland took great interest in listening to major Williams's recital of his sufferings, and those of the American prisoners, which frequently brought tears from lady Harriet. Major Ackland's connexions, fortune, and parliamentary standing, being a member of the House of Commons, licensed him in the free expression of his sentiments; and one day on 'Change, when the treatment of the American paisoners became a topic of conversation, after expressing his abhorrence, he observed, '*But, gentlemen, inhumanity originates at head-quarters, and you all follow the fashion.*' On another occasion, after dining with lady Harriet, he proposed to major Williams a visit to an assembly; they entered, and the attention of the belles and beaux could not but be attracted by two such elegant figures as Ackland and Williams; but the rancour of civil animosity prevailed over the obligations of good breeding, and Williams was shunned like a pestilence. Ackland made his introduction general, but without effect; and after sauntering across the room several times, 'Come, Williams,' said he, 'this society is too illiberal for you and me; let us go home and sup with lady Harriet.'

'But unfortunate was the destiny of this gallant, generous, high minded gentleman; and it cannot be listened to by an American without deep regret, when it is known he gave his life in defence of their honour. I have the following detail from an English gentleman in whom I place confidence;—Ackland, after his return to England, procured a regiment, and at a dinner of military men, where the courage of the Americans was made a question, took the negative side with his usual decision; he was opposed, warmth ensued, and he gave the lie direct to a lieutenant Lloyd, fought him, and was shot through the head. Lady Harriet lost her senses, and continued deranged two years; after which, I have been informed, she married Mr. Brudenell, who

accompanied her from general Burgoyne's camp, when she sought her wounded husband on the Hudson's river.' p. 376—378.

General Wilkinson passes over the interval between 1777 and 1797. In 1799, when the army was enlarged during the troubles with France, he received a letter from general Hamilton, which we shall lay before our readers—

'*New York, Feb. 12th*, 1799.

'Sir,—The interesting incidents which have latterly occurred in our our political situation, having rendered it expedient to enlarge the sphere of our military arrangements, it has in consequence become necessary to regulate the superintendence of our military force in its various and detached positions, in such a manner as while it will serve to disburthen the department of war, *of details incompatible with its more general and more important occupations*, will likewise conduce to uniformity and system in the different branches of the service.

'The commander in chief having for the present declined actual command, it has been determined, in pursuance of the above views, to place the military force every where, under the superintendence of major-general Pinckney and myself. In the allotment for this purpose, my agency is extended to the garrisons on the western lakes, and to all the troops in the north western territory, including both banks of the Ohio, and upon the Mississippi; in short to all the western army, except the parts which may be in the states of Tennessee and Kentucky. Of this you will have been informed by the secretary of war.

'From the relation which is thus constituted between us, I allow myself to anticipate great mutual satisfaction. Every disposition on my part will certainly facilitate it, and tend to promote the discharge of your trust, in the manner best adapted to your honour and the advancement of the service.

'It was the united opinion of the commander in chief, general Pinckney, and myself, when lately convened at Philadelphia, that your speedy presence in this quarter was necessary, towards a full discussion of the affairs of the scene, in which you have so long had the direction in their various relations, and towards the formation, with the aid of your lights, of a more perfect plan for present and eventual arrangements. Much may be examined in a personal interview, which at so great a distance cannot be effected by writing. The actual and probable situation of our public affairs, in reference to foreign powers, renders this step indispensable. You will therefore be pleased, with all practicable expedition, to repair to Philadelphia; upon your arrival there giving me immediate advice of it. If this can be most conve-

niently accomplished by way of New Orleans, you are at liberty to take that route. On this point you are the best judge, and will no doubt act with circumspection.

'It must rest with you to dispose of the command of the troops at the different stations, during your absence, and to give the proper instructions in conformity with those which have been received from the secretary of war On this head only one remark will be made. The confidence in your judgment has probably led to the reposing in your discretion, powers too delicate to be intrusted to an officer less tried; capable perhaps of being so used as to commit prematurely the peace of the United States. Discretions of this tendency ought not to be transferred, beyond what may be indispensable for defensive security. Care must be taken that the nation be *not embroiled*, but in consequence of *a deliberate policy in the government*.

'Official letters from you to me, as you have been apprised by the secretary at war, are to be forwarded through him; they must be open and under cover. The design of this is, that he may have an opportunity, in cases of great urgency, which could not conveniently wait for my direction, to interpose with the requisite measures. In your absence, it will be proper that the officer or officers you may substitute in the command, should communicate with you; also transmitting their letters open under cover to the secretary at war. *This will preserve unbroken the chain of your command.*

'With great consideration, &c. &c.

'(Signed) 'A. HAMILTON.

'*Brigadier-general Wilkinson.*'

General Wilkinson soon after arrived in New York, and had several interviews with general Hamilton.

The arrangements respecting the army proposed by him to general Hamilton, and approved by general Washington, were prevented by the restoration of peace with France. This restoration the author attributes to the agency of the worthy Dr. Logan of Pennsylvania, whose conduct he highly applauds in going voluntarily between the two countries; and says he was entitled to equal praise in 1810, for attempting a similar object, although he adds, 'he was abused for this interference' by the same persons, who had applauded him on the former occasion. General Wilkinson gives us three letters, which originated in this second embassy; one is addressed to the marquis Wellesley, another to Sir John Sinclair, and his answer. This latter is a curiosity. Though

their joint efforts could not prevent the war, he sends him 'two recipes for preventing the mildew, which would be invaluable if they are found to answer.'

'*Edinburgh, July 20th*, 1815.

'My dear Sir,

'I had the pleasure of receiving yours. I rejoice exceedingly at the restoration of peace between the two countries. It was neither your fault nor mine, that a war, so unfortunate for both countries, was not prevented. I am now at Edinburgh, at a distance from all my papers, and can only request your acceptance of the trifles herewith inclosed, together with two receipts for preventing the mildew, which would be invaluable, if they are found to answer.

'Excuse a few hasty lines, and believe me with much esteem and regard,

'Yours,

'JOHN SINCLAIR.

'*Dr. George Logan.*'

In the course of his communications with general Hamilton, the author made some inquiries about his political opinions. We request the reader's attention to the manly, dignified answers to these queries.

'The splendid abilities of general Hamilton were admitted on all hands, but his political sentiments and public services, became a subject of controversy between the adverse parties, which divided the community; on one hand he was eulogised as the consummate statesman, and the sound patriot; whilst on the other, he was charged with predilections to royalty, and political attachments hostile to republican institutions; his works best bespeak his transcendant talents, and general Washington bore testimony to his probity and patriotism. The entire confidence with which this gentleman treated me, licensed the most unreserved frankness, and one day in a desultory conversation, I inquired of him whether he knew he was considered by many, as the advocate of royal governments, and the decided friend of Great Britain? He replied, that those with whom he was associated in politics, and who understood him, would acquit him of these predilections; but that those who were of the opposite party, had, he understood, accused him of both; he said, that the part he took in the federal convention, had, he supposed, given rise to the first imputation, and his opposition to the public sympathies, for revolutionary France, to the last; that in the convention, he

had laboured to promote a system of government, which he believed best calculated to preserve the integrity of the union; for, that, from his reading and experience, he could not bring himself to believe a great empire could be protected by a thatched roof, against the storms and tempest to which all states are liable; and that, therefore, he was for vesting Congress with a qualified control over the state governments; to guard against caprice and contumacy, and to secure obedience to the national will. That his adversaries were inconsistent, inasmuch as they allowed him to possess discernment and knowledge, and yet charged him with a desire to introduce a monarchy, which every person, in the least acquainted with the genius and temper of the people of the United States, must know was absurd. That under the existing constitution, he could readily conceive a possible case, which might lead to a subversion of the general government, that was a coalition between Virginia and Massachusetts, to resist the measures of Congress; for, said he, it would be difficult to find a remedy for such an evil, originating with those powerful states. With respect to the other point, he said, it was not from an unfriendly disposition to the French people, that he had opposed the public sympathies, but it was to prevent the honest zeal of our own people, from hurrying them headlong into the arms of a nation, engaged in a contest, the end of which, no one could discern; that his sole object was to preserve the independence of the United States, by saving them from political engagements, which might prove dangerous to their future peace and prosperity; and that in regard to Great Britain, although the policy he had advocated might indirectly favour her European views, it had been the effect of circumstances, in which his dispositions had no share; for that at the very time, his heart bled under the sense of the wrongs, offered by Great Britain to the United States, and he had no doubt the haughty spirit of that nation would involve us in a war with her in less than seven years; for which, it was his opinion, we should then begin to prepare; and it is a fact, that all his measures and deliberations took that direction.'

p. 463—465.

We conclude our numerous extracts with one more, containing some anecdotes of general Washington, which conclude the volume.

'During my intercourse with general Hamilton at New York in 1799, our official engagements produced frequent references to the opinion of general Washington, and I embraced the occasion, to obtain a more distinct view of the private character of that great man, than our military relations had permitted.

'There may be many living witnesses of the fact, that Sir Henry Clinton, whilst he commanded in New York, occupied the house of captain Kennedy, of the British navy, near the battery; and that there were no buildings at that time between it and the river. In these quarters the chief reposed in security with the ordinary guard in front, relying on naval protection for safety in his rear. General Washington had by his spies ascertained precisely the approaches, not only to Sir Henry's quarters, but to his bed-chamber, and the enterprise appeared so feasible, that he determined to carry him off. The arrangements were made for light whale boats with muffled oars, and 150 Marblehead seamen, properly commanded; every thing being ready, the detachment waited for the approach of night; in the interval colonel Hamilton took occasion to observe to the general, that 'there could be little doubt of the success of the enterprise, but,' said he, 'have you examined the consequences of it?' The general inquired 'in what respect?' 'Why,' replied Hamilton, 'it has occurred to me that we shall rather lose than gain by removing Sir Henry Clinton from the command of the British army, because we perfectly understand his character, and by taking him off we only make way for some other, perhaps an abler officer, whose character and dispositions we may have to learn.' The general acknowledged these reflections had not occurred to him, but with noble frankness admitted their force, thanked colonel Hamilton for his suggestion, and the expedition was abandoned. I had heard of this incident, and making inquiry of general Hamilton relative to the fact, he gave the preceding details.

'On other occasions, when in conversation respecting this great man, general Hamilton observed, that it was difficult to decide, whether general Washington was greater in the field or in the cabinet; he said the world had very naturally decided in favour of his military capacity, but from the sum of his observations, he considered him at least equally sound as a statesman; for whatever might have been the jealousies or the insinuations of party, it was no humiliation to him to acknowledge, that he had in council frequently differed in opinion with president Washington, and that events had generally proved that he was wrong and the President right. But he dwelt on a specific trait in general Washington's character, which it were devoutly to be wished his successors could imitate; this was, that in '*all appointments to office, wherein he was especially called to exercise his own judgment, he nobly divested himself of sympathy or antipathy, and made what he considered the fitness of the agent to the office the ground of his choice;*' as an evidence of the fact, he mentioned, that, '*Colonel Pickering, at the time he was appointed postmaster-general, was no favourite of president Washington,*

*but that he knew the colonel to be a man of industry and method, and had confidence in his integrity; and as to myself,'* said he, *'there had been for some time such a standing or misunderstanding, between us, that I had no more expectation of office than I had of being appointed Pope's nuncio, when I received the invitation to take charge of the treasury department.'* That a coolness had taken place between the commander in chief and colonel Hamilton, towards the close of the war, and that the colonel had left his family, was notorious, but there were very few persons acquainted with the cause, which I shall now submit to my readers, as correctly as memory will serve me, and should I commit an errour, will refer to general St. Clair for correction, who is the only man living, within my knowledge, acquainted with the facts.

'The army was encamped in New Jersey at some point east of the Rariton, and perhaps at Perackness. The general was just mounting his horse, to visit his advanced post, when he recollected a letter he had recently received from the British commander, which it occurred to him he might have occasion for whilst at the lines; he called colonel Hamilton, and requested him 'to hand the letter to him.' The colonel returned to the office, but not being able to place his hand on it, reported that 'it was mislaid.' The general replied, 'I must have it.' Search was again made without effect, and colonel Hamilton returning, repeated that the letter had been mislaid, and expressed his sorrow at not being '*able to find it.*' The general rejoined with warmth, 'Sir, you shall find it.' Hamilton was astonished, but replied promptly, 'I shall find it, sir, but must let you know, that in addressing me, you do not speak to a menial.' The occasion was honourable to the parties; it was the quarrel of Sully and Henry; it furnished general Washington an occasion for the display of his magnanimity, and colonel Hamilton an opportunity to assert his personal dignity and independence of mind. Colonel Hamilton retired from head-quarters, but was appointed to the command of a battalion in the elite corps, at the head of which he stormed a redoubt during the siege of York before the surrender of Cornwallis.' p. 852—854.

Before we take leave of this work, we must express our wishes that general Wilkinson would continue it; and in doing this, that he would forget the vexations and injustice of the present times, and give us all that he can recollect of the character and events of the revolution. He was brought into close contact with some of the most distinguished men of that era. Let him in another edition strike out in the first volume all that relates to Bladensburg and Canadian

battles, and give the publick what relates to the revolutionary war; arrange the materials more regularly and continue it down to the close. In doing this he will give the publick a very interesting and useful work.

## ORIGINAL POETRY.

*Poem, delivered before the* ΦBK *society of Harvard University, on their anniversary, August 28th*, 1817.

BY JOHN WARE, M. D.

[A few introductory lines, and some other passages, which were spoken, are omitted in printing.]

Novels on novels—shelves on shelves arise,
Of various merit, as of various size;
But good and bad, promiscuous as they fall,
A greedy host advance, and swallow all.
Like Egypt's reptile race, they crowd their way,
Nor rank, nor age, nor place, their progress stay;
They throng the gaudy mansions of the great;
They greet the poor man in his humbler state;
Nor in the proudest dome, or meanest hovel,
Can human flesh and blood resist a novel.
And see! they mount the toilet of the fair,
And seek and find an easy homage there.
Domestick drudgery can scarce advance
Its claims in competition with romance;
Grumbling the brother, or the husband, goes
With elbows ragged, or undarned hose;
And thus discovers, that romantick scenes
Are not the thing for ladies in their teens.
Balls, parties—meal-times, are alike forgot;
Poor Byron lies unread, and Walter Scott;
Cares, duties, pleasures, without notice pass;
And every thing neglected, but the glass.—
Some cruel mother may perhaps deny
The precious volumes to her daughter's eye;
Then, after thousand efforts to deceive,
She gets the lovely book without her leave;
And reads, with brush in hand, should madam come,
That she may jump, and seem to sweep the room.

For if, while poring deep, she chance to hear
The well known steady step, approaching near,
At once, alas! each tender thought is hushed,
Down goes the novel, and up flies the dust.
At midnight too, perhaps her thoughts engage
Too deeply in the fascinating page;
Dead to all else, she cannot stop to raise
Her hand, to snuff the candle's flickering blaze;
Nor even heeds the taper tilted down,
That melts, like her, in tears upon her gown.
But let us pause, these wonders to survey;
This mob that crowds our literary way;
And as they pass us, single from the tribe,
A few, with casual pencil to describe.
The novel, like the drama, ought to show,
Man as he is—with real scenes to glow;
Should hold a mirror up, reflecting fair
Events and things before it, as they are;
Thus every passion that can sway the heart,
By turns may be the subject of its art.
And now its page with softest thoughts may glow;
Now swell with rapture, and now sink in woe.
Ambition, hatred, jealousy, inspire,
At times a theme of gloom, at times of fire,
And round the whole, the light of love may shine,
To purify, enlighten, and refine.
But this, the taste of some, would never suit;
Of love they tell, on all things else are mute;
Forever on their page, we meet a pair
Of lovers, beautiful of course, and fair;
Who seem, so aptly and exact they move,
Drilled to the manual exercise of love.
For through the whole, precise they travel o'er
The same routine that thousands have before.
They fall in love at sight, and then, behold,
The fair so timid, and the man so bold.
'Tis strange to see, what homage he prefers
To every thing which is, or has been, hers:
A glove she dropped by chance, or curl of hair,
Her own perhaps, or made for her to wear,
A withered flower that faded on her breast,
A pin—oh! happy pin! that closed her vest,
The book she read, the pen she used to write,
Are precious things in his adoring sight.
Then, when at last they tell their tender feelings,
Such trances, extasies, and lowly kneelings;

Such falling at her feet, and lying flat,
And kissing of her garment, and all that—
You'd think the object of such mighty fuss,
Could surely never be like one of us.
Thus for a while their path is strown with flowers;
And hope and rapture wing the rapid hours;
Too soon, alas! events occur amiss,
To stay the flowing current of their bliss.
Friends frown refusal, or detraction rears
Her snaky crest, and scatters doubts and fears,
Whilst mutual hope, and trust, and passion fly,
Before the withering glance of jealousy.
Or even worse, for fortune may disdain
To shed the lustre of her golden reign;
And want of cash as sore an ill is found
On matrimonial, as commercial, ground.
But evils conjured up with ink and pen,
'Tis easy thus to conjure down again.
These novel heroes never fail to find,
Lands, villas, money, just to suit their mind,
All done as simply, as a nation fills
Its empty coffers with exchequer bills.
Next more unnatural, and full as dull,
The thousand pupils of the Radcliffe school;
Sprung from a vigorous root, the puny flock
Bears small resemblance to the parent stock.
They serve up cold the same remembered store
Of ghosts and goblins, we have had before.
Their crazy hero, mad for hairbrained deeds,
The reader through a maze of wonders leads.
Amid some castle's antiquated halls,
Where moans the tempest through its broken walls,
At midnight's silent hour, he creeps alone,
And gropes and tumbles 'mid the falling stone.
Then comes the worn out tale, of creaking doors,
Of sliding pannels, and of mouldering floors,
Of secret cup-boards, that but serve to hide
The bones that whiten where their owners died;
Of figures stalking in the midnight gloom,
Of startling groans that issue from the tomb;
Of fell banditti, who in caverns lurk,
Armed at all points, and whiskered like a Turk;
Confessors grim, and hooded monks who scowl
All evil passions, from beneath the cowl;
And every thing, in short, which serves to fright
Children, and boys, and servant maids, at night,

They bring together with their wondrous art,
'To raise the genius, and to mend the heart.'
All are not such, for e'en on themes like these,
At times the loftiest powers of genius seize.
Those sights of horrour, and those sounds of fear,
That meet the eye, and fill the listening ear;
The voice, that from the monumental stone,
Shrieks to the night breeze, with no human tone;
The wind, that sweeps along the field of death,
And heavy wafts the sepulchre's dank breath;
The wandering forms that, of unearthly mould,
At the dead hour of night their converse hold—
As genius paints them, when it deigns to turn
On these dark themes, its thoughts and words that burn—
Whose nerves so firm, whose fancy is so still,
That his fears stir not, and his bosom thrill?
Whose heart retains its sure and equal play,
As slowly sinks the midnight taper's ray?
But lo! prolifick Germany displays
Her poems, novels, romances, and plays;
And spreads translated myriads fast and far,
To wage with common sense inveterate war.
To teach the heathen, her apostles rise,
The mysteries of sentiment and sighs.
E'en Britons sometimes condescend to sink,
And dip their English pens in German ink;
And proudly, to the admiring world, disclose
Their volumes rich with Della-Cruscan prose.
Strange, in a soil that bears such generous fruit,
Enough the widest range of taste to suit;
One should be found to nurse, with care and toil,
These sickly products of a foreign soil.
Strange, where the glories of an Edgeworth thrive,
That Goethe's wretched things could keep alive!
What, sully sterling sense, and manly thought,
With sighs and tears, from raving Werter caught?
And thus profane that land of purer taste,
By Richardson, Mackenzie, Goldsmith, graced?
But from the sickening tale, where fiction throws
Unreal colouring o'er unreal woes,
Not taste alone, and feeling's healthful play,
And reason's manly vigour, waste away;
This were enough, if all, but 'tis not so;
Worse ills from these polluted sources flow.
Their influence falls, to wither and destroy
The opening buds of virtue and of joy.

On weaker minds they act, which shrink and fail,
Before the slightest evils that assail;
And, to their frail and morbid senses, bring
Distaste to life. and every living thing.
The scenes, with which these noxious works are fraught,
So falsely coloured, and so highly wrought,
Prepare them poorly for the toil and strife,
The real sufferings of real life.
Dreary and blank indeed, the world is found
To those who tread on sentimental ground;
In other spheres their wandering spirits range,
Till all things here are worthless, tame, and strange;
Wrapt up in visions of ideal bliss,
They live in other worlds, exist in this.
There are, who have with even fiction's pen,
Portrayed the darkest side of things and men;
Have taught their converts, more severe than wise,
That vain are all the pleasures that we prize;
That life is but the summer insect's play,
Who breathes, lives, flutters, dies, within a day;
Our happiness a bubble, and so frail,
It bursts before the Zephyr's slightest gale;
The current's foam, fit emblem of our joys,
That the first ripple scatters and destroys;
That virtue is but seeming—hope and love
Glow dimly here, not kindled from above;
Whilst sin and want and misery alone
In this our sphere, have reared a lasting throne.
All this side death is dark, and on the grave,
Shines not one ray, to solace or to save.
But is it so—is this indeed the tale,
That breathes, and speaks, in every passing gale?
In every living part of nature's plan,
From plants, and worms, and reptiles, up to man?
Oh! no—truth—nature—reason give the lie,
In vivid characters, that never die.
What! can we think that all this goodly show
Was only made for creatures doomed to woe?
This breathing world, and all its sightly frame,
A prison-house of sorrow, guilt, and shame?
We gaze, and are convinced; the world is rife
With living things,—with rapture as with life.
Aspiring virtue here receives her birth,
And love and truth are sojourners on earth.
Whence then, the errour—whence the sad mistake,
So false, so fatal, many daily make?

It is that feeble souls, with powers too weak,
Too deeply in the source of things would seek?
Too curious nature's mysteries would scan,
And try the ways of Providence to man?
Yet there are some, whose eagle eye can gaze,
Undazzled, on the noontide's withering blaze;
Can boldly fathom, with unwearied sight,
The depths of heavenly and eternal light;
Soar with unfading hope, untiring wing,
Through nature's works, to nature's living spring.
But meaner spirits, who the adventure dare,
For them, no visions break in glory there;
The rays of heaven descend upon their way,
But light, like darkness, leads their feet astray.
They falter from the path, they strove to share,
In blindness, shame, oblivion, and despair.

Alas! that on the page to fancy dear,
Aught can be found that virtue should not hear;
That vice and foul licentiousness should dare,
Profane, to lay their touch unhallowed there;
When to the glowing tale that fiction weaves,
Youth unpolluted listens, and believes.
It is to taint the spring from whence might flow,
Health and abundance to the vales below?
To scatter venom at the fountain head,
And poison thence the streams that widely spread?
There have been those who thus have led astray,
The unsteady feet of youth through folly's way.
But better days have better things supplied;
And genius walks with virtue at her side,
Gaining new honours; for on every tongue,
The notes of praise to Edgeworth's name have hung.
The lisping infant, and the lettered sage,
Alike delighted turn her useful page.
We love to follow those who lead a while
Through paths, where truth meets fancy with a smile.

The idle works that just amuse a day,
Live their short moment, and are swept away,
This empty froth that floats on fashion's tide,
The good may censure, and the wise deride.
But heaviest vengeance blast that baser sort,
Which nurtures low desire, and vicious thought;
Or that, which nurses in the sickly breast,
A fatal worm that preys upon its rest;
That teaches man to sorrow and repine,
At human fortune, or the sway divine.

Away with such.—But let not wisdom scorn
Those purer works that sense and taste adorn;
Whose pages, never soiled by vice, admit
The force of genius, and the play of wit.
It is a crime with such, to while away
The listless moments of a languid day?
With them, the hour of trouble to beguile,
And raise, in spite of care, one sunny smile?
With them in tender sympathy to glow,
And shed a tear for even fabled woe?
No—they have soothed, in many a troubled soul,
The stubborn passions that disdained control;
Have roused the slumbering feelings, by their art,
And as they warmed the fancy, warmed the heart;
And they have given, and this enough we deem,
To you amusement;—and to me a theme.

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*The Cave of Eolus.—Imitated from Virgil.*

High on a throne, within his vast domain,
The monarch Eolus rul'd a vassal train;
Reluctant winds fierce struggling he compell'd,
And threatening tempests in his prison held.
In murmurs hoarse, and haughty tones they rave,
And lash, indignant, their detested cave.
But He, serene in pow'r, his sceptre wields,
And by his nod control'd their fury yields,
Which did he not, their tyrant ire would sweep
The winnow'd earth to mingle with the deep;
Ere this, had rush'd to heav'n sublime, and hurl'd
The skies in chaos with a ruin'd world.
Once, to this warring cell, of troubled name,
With humbled step the haughty Juno came,
Surpriz'd the king perceiv'd the unwonted guest,
Her hurried accent, and her strange request.
'Oh thou, to whom the Almighty Sire consign'd
The throne of storms,—the sceptre of the wind,—
A race by me detested spread their sails,
On Tyrrhene seas, from Troy's unpeopled vales,
And bear presumptuous to my lov'd abodes
Their batter'd armours, and their vanquish'd gods.
But thou, Imperial King, to whom is given
To rule the waves, and loose the winds of heaven,

Incite thy wildest pow'rs, that ceasless roam,
Like fetter'd pris'ners round thy vaulted dome,
In whirling gulphs their shatter'd vessels sweep,
And strew their corses o'er the boiling deep;
So shall thy vast and lonely hall display,
Such honours as the wife of Jove can pay.' H.

*Imitation of the lines repeated by the poet Lucan, after his veins were opened, by order of the emperour Nero.*

No more the blood distils in measures slow.
The gushing veins like eddying torrents flow,
The cold hands fail—the pulse no longer beats,
Life to her trembling citadel retreats—
Nerves the sunk heart to ward the dreaded blow,
Arms all her force to combat with her foe;
But death and destiny, with purpose dire,
Press to the fortress where her steps retire,—
Quench her pale taper, rend her feeble span,
And rise victorious o'er the strength of man. H.

# MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

## *Boundaries of the United States.*

THE provisions in the treaty of Ghent, relative to the boundaries of the United States, have excited considerable attention. The following summary may perhaps give some information on the subject.

The limits of the several states, which at the peace of 1783 became sovereign and independent, were originally described in ancient charters from the crown of Great Britain, or in derivative grants under those charters, which in many respects were inconsistent with each other, vague and extravagant, and often the same charter was inconsistent with itself.—When these charters or grants were first made, but little more than the sea-coast of the American continent had been explored; and that was so imperfectly known that mistakes of an important nature in the relative situation and dependency of contiguous places are every where manifest. Indeed there seems to have been a very general opinion among the European grantors, that the continent of North America was bounded by a straight line on the ocean; and that the courses of its rivers made right angles with this line.

This ignorance of the country can excite but little surprise, when the slight means of obtaining better information are considered, especially since it was necessary that a grant should be made before possession could be taken, and of course that a portion of territory must be described, before it was possible to explore it.

Inasmuch however as natural landmarks were but little known or were uncertain in their position, it became convenient to portion out the several tracts by lines of latitude; and of course most of the ancient charters are bounded and described by this manner of description.

The intrinsick difficulty of accurately measuring these lines had but little effect in producing the conflicting claims between proprietors of contiguous tracts, because most generally the country was again patented, before it was surveyed, and sometimes occupied, with nothing more than a conjectural regard to these astronomical limits. So far as this confusion was confined to the subjects of the same monarch, the difficulty admitted of a remedy. The King in council was considered as having a right to explain and interpret what was uncertain in those patents, and on various occasions undertook to give an equitable construction to the ambiguities of those that were more ancient, and to make such explanations of them, as a more correct knowledge of the country would permit.

The charter given by King James I. under the seal of Scotland to Sir William Alexander in 1621, is almost a solitary exception to the manner of ancient conveyances, and Sir William justly, though quaintly, boasts, that 'while other patents are imaginarily limited by degrees in the heavens, his is the first national patent clearly bounded by lines upon the earth.'

This mode of conveyance has however its peculiar difficulties, and was not very generally adopted—and when lines of latitude gave place to measured miles by direction of the compass, a confusion not less perplexing was soon found to be the consequence. The charter limits of some of the New England provinces, if they had been explained only by the language of the charters themselves, would have interfered with other territories, to which, by tacit consent at least, they disclaimed all title; and would have been more extensive than could possibly have been intended, when the charters were drawn.—It is probable that an exact adherence to the literal phraseology of some of them, would have extended their limits from 'sea to sea,' or from the Atlantick to the Pacifick Ocean, and that encroachments, under the broad words of conveyance, might be made on the Quebec, Nova Scotia and Florida governments, which in fact had never been attempted by the colonial proprietors when the whole country remained under one sovereign head.

For these and other causes the Plenipotentiaries, who negotiated the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1782, were not satisfied with an enumeration of the thirteen states by name, as being there-

after intended to form a new empire ; but with an intention of avoiding all future misunderstanding, they defined the exteriour boundaries of those states in the following words.

'And it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be the boundaries of the United States, viz from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantick ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude ; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Irequois or Cataraquy, thence along the middle of said river into lake Ontario ; through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie ; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie ; through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and lake Huron ; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superiour ; thence through lake Superiour northward of the isles Royal and the Philipeaux to the Long lake ; thence through the middle of said Long lake and the water communication between it and the lake of the Woods to the said lake of the Woods ; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Missisippi ; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of said river Missisippi until it shall intersect the northwesternmost part of the 31st degree of north latitude—south by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catahouche ; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence strait to the head of St. Mary's river ; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's to the Atlantick ocean—*east by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix*, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source ; and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantick ocean, from those that fall into the river St. Lawrence, *comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantick ocean, excepting*

*such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.*' Treaty of Paris, 1783. Art. 2.

It is obvious that after this treaty, the circuit described by the foregoing lines, whether conforming or not to the previous limits of the several states, was to be taken for the whole extent of the new nation. But it is certain also that these lines were drawn with a general regard to the charter limits of the provinces ; and were intended to secure to each of them what might fairly be presumed to have been within their original territory.

On an occasion presently to be mentioned, this fact was rendered certain by the deposition of the American plenipotentiaries, who negotiated the preliminary articles of peace in 1782, and the definitive treaty in 1783— The honourable John Adams and honourable John Jay, on the occasion above referred to, gave testimony under oath that various propositions were made as to the eastern limits of the United States, and that it was proposed by one of the American negotiators to extend them to the St. Johns ; and by the English ministers to confine them first to the Piscatuqua and afterwards to the Penobscot ; but that it was finally agreed to establish as a principle, that the '*charter limits of Massachusetts should govern in the location of boundary*,' and consequently, the St. Croix was fixed upon as the dividing stream. This testimony was fully corroborated by a letter from Dr. Franklin, the other negotiator on the part of the United States. The English plenipotentiaries had deceased before the above testimony was required, but the high character of the deponents establishes the point beyond all question.

The treaty of 1783, although thus governed in its general principles by former charters, did nevertheless in one respect adopt certain provisions altogether its own. The two parallel eastern lines were for the first time drawn by this treaty, and the jurisdiction over islands within twenty leagues of the coast, is a provision originating with that instrument. In the colony charter of Massachusetts A. D. 1628, the jurisdiction from the shore is confined to six leagues, and when the five several provinces of New Plymouth, Massachusetts, the District of Maine, Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the territory between Nova Scotia and the District of Maine, were by charter of William and Mary in 1691 'united into one real province by

the name of Massachusetts,' the jurisdiction over islands extended only to such as were within *ten* leagues of the main land. The treaty of 1783 enlarged it to *twenty* leagues, yet that provision did not in fact give any actual accession of territory.

While this treaty made the above nominal addition on the *seaboard*, it contracted the interiour limits of several of the provinces ;—but inasmuch as the territory thus included had never been actually occupied or disposed of under the charter, the reduction, like the enlargement, might be considered as merely nominal ; and the United States, for every valuable purpose, covered the same extent of country that had been comprehended within the provinces, of which the new nation was composed.

It has often been suggested that at the treaty of peace, as on some subsequent occasions, the superiour intelligence of the American ministers is seen in the result of the negotiations ; and that a better acquaintance with the geography of their own country, than was possessed by their opponents, enabled them to secure to the United States a jurisdiction and territory beyond the limits originally intended to have been confirmed to them.

The truth of this suggestion may well be doubted. The general principles on which the territory should be assigned were known to both parties. The application of these principles was regulated by a recurrence to the ancient charters of the frontier states, and to the best maps which then had been published ; all of which, on the authority of the testimony above referred to, we now know to have been exhibited at the conferences of the ministers, by whom that treaty was negotiated.

But the lines, which by the treaty of peace of 1783 marked out the limits of the American Republick, are, it is easily seen, in many respects arbitrary ; and even where natural monuments and boundaries are recognized, it was from description in existing books or maps, and not from actual delineation, that they became known to the plenipotentiaries. It is not wonderful if the lines, thus set down, were more or less inacurate or doubtful ; because the best maps then extant are known from more recent surveys to have been in many respects erroneous. Nor is it strange, that the boundaries, which were then described, but not actually traced out or measured, should require, in after times, further elucidation.

To determine the place intended by the description, required the concurrence of both the parties; thus, though it had been agreed on both sides, that the intersection of the 45th degree of north latitude with the river St. Lawrence, should be one point in the boundaries; yet, as it is probable that two successive observers would not fix on precisely the same point, it was necessary that the parties should also agree in regard to the results of the astronomical observations by which it should be determined. So the other points and lines of division between the United States and the neighbouring British provinces, required the concurrent determination of the two countries, before the places and lines of the treaty could be conclusively established.

It is, in some respects, an evidence of good neighbourhood that collisions on this point did not occur, and that there was not sooner a necessity of settling it. Such collision was however, in part, prevented by the sparse population of the frontiers, and probably also by a certain prescriptive authority in the ancient charters of the country.

A serious misunderstanding did however arise soon after the treaty of peace, relative to the eastern boundary therein mentioned.

By the provisions of the treaty the river St. Croix from its source to its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, is made the line of division between Nova Scotia and the United States. But there were three rivers in that part of the country, which had, in a greater or less degree, received that appellation. These rivers were known also by Indian names; the most westerly being called the Copscook—the middle the Scoodick—and the eastern, the Magaquadavie.

A difference of opinion had long before existed between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, which of these rivers was the boundary of their respective colonies; for while on all sides it seemed to be admitted that the St. Croix was the real boundary, the question, even previous to the treaty of peace, was very much agitated, which of these three rivers was intended by that name.

So early as 1771 the government of Massachusetts sent commissioners to examine and report; and they returned an opinion that the eastern river was the charter limit of their province. The authorities at Nova Scotia, on the other hand, persisted in maintaining that the Copscook was the place in-

tended, and on that principle had granted the main land and many of the intervening Islands.

The dispute assumed a serious aspect soon after the treaty of peace. The territory between the Scoodick and the Magaquadavic had been occupied during the revolutionary war by refugees from the United States, and principally from Massachusetts, under the authority of Nova Scotia, while many of the former inhabitants who had previously settled themselves under the presumption of being within the limits of Massachusetts, were driven off and their property confiscated during the period of hostility.

From 1783 until 1794 the troubles of contested jurisdiction were constantly increasing; application was made by the inhabitants to the legislature of Massachusetts—complaints were forwarded by Massachusetts to the government of the United States, and resolutions proposed in congress for taking actual and forcible possession of the disputed country.

These, with the other controversies existing at that period, were settled by the provisions of the treaty of 1794, commonly commonly called Jay's treaty. By the fifth article of that treaty it is provided, that—

'Whereas doubts have arisen *what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix*, mentioned in the said treaty of peace (of 1783) and forming part of the boundary therein described, that question shall be referred to the final decision of commissioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz. One commissioner shall be named by his Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof, and the said two commissioners shall agree on the choice of a third; or if they cannot so agree, they shall each propose one person, and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the two original commissioners, and the three commissioners so appointed shall be sworn, impartially to examine and decide the said question, according to such evidence as shall respectively be laid before them on the part of the British government, and of the United States. The said commissioners shall meet at Halifax, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit.—They shall have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration under their hands and seals, decide what river is the river St. Croix, intended by the treaty. The said declaration shall contain a description of said

river, and shall particularize the latitude and longitude of its mouth and of its source. Duplicates of this declaration and of the statements of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of his Majesty, and to the agent of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of the respective governments. And both parties agree to consider such decision as final and conclusive, so as that the same shall never thereafter be called into question, or made the subject of dispute or difference between them.'

The commission was opened at Halifax on the 30th day of August, 1796. The honourable Thomas Barclay appeared as commissioner on the part of his Britannick Majesty, and the honourable David Howell on the part of the United States. After some delay Egbert Benson, Esq. of New York was chosen by the joint vote of the two original commissioners as the third, according to the provision of the treaty.— The business before the board thus organized, was confided, on the part of the United States, to the management of the late learned and indefatigable governour Sullivan, then Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ; and on the part of his Britannick Majesty, to the honourable Ward Chipman of St. Johns, New Brunswick, since one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of that province. On the part of the British government their Agent waived the claim to the Copscook, and asserted that the Scoodick was the river truly intended in the treaty by the name of the St. Croix ; the American Agent preferred his claim to the Magaquadavie, as the intended boundary between the two countries. The territory between these two rivers depended on the decision of this novel international tribunal, and the zeal and ability with which the controversy was managed, were worthy the character of men, who had nations for their clients, and were conducting a peaceful suit for the possession of provinces.

In discharging the duties assigned them under this appointment, the commissioners resorted to the ancient description of the country by the first French voyagers from whom the name St. Croix might be supposed to have originated, and endeavoured to trace the identity of the stream, which first received that name, through the various historical or geographical descriptions of the country, in which the name was to be found.

The first voyager was the Sieur DeMonts, whose voyage was made in 1604, and an account of it has been written by two cotemporary authors, viz. Champlain, who was with him, and Les Carbot, who came out to St. Croix in 1605.

The description of the country, river and islands is thus given by Champlain in an edition published in 1713, a copy of which, on account of the maps annexed, the commissioners were at the trouble of procuring from England. It follows;

'From the river St. John we were at four islands, on one of which we were ashore, and there found a great abundance of birds, called margos, of which we took a number of young ones, as good as young pigeons. The Sieur Poutrincourt was nearly losing himself there, but finally returned to our bark as we were going to search for him round the island, which is three leagues distant from the main land. Further to the west there are other islands, one containing six leagues, called by the savages Manthane; to the south of which, there are among the islands many good ports for vessels. From the isles of *Margos*, we were at a river in the main land, which is called the river of the Etchomins, a race of savages so named in their own country; and we passed by a great number of islands more than we could count, pleasant enough, containing, some two leagues, others three, others more or less. All these islands are in a bay, which contains in my judgment more than fifteen leagues in circumference, in which there are a number of convenient places to put as great a number of vessels as one pleases, which in their season abound in fish; such as cod, salmon, *bars*, herring, fluituns, and other fish in great number. Making west northwest through these islands, we entered into a large river, which is almost half a league broad at its entrance, where having made a league or two, we found two islands, the one very small near the shore on the west, the other in the middle, which may have eight or nine hundred paces in circumference; the banks of which are rocky, and three or four toises high, except a small place, a point of land and clay which may serve to make bricks and other necessary things. There is another sheltered place to put vessels from eighty to one hundred tons, but it is dry at low water. The island is filled with firs, birches, maples, and oaks. Of itself it is in a good situation, and there is only one side where it slopes about forty paces, which is easy to be fortified, the shores of the main land being distant on each side about nine hundred or a thousand paces. Vessels cannot pass on the river but at the mercy of the cannon on the island, which is the place we judged best, as well for the situation, the goodness of the country, as for the communication we pro-

posed to have with the savages of the coasts and the interiour country being in the midst of them. This place is named by the name of the island St. Croix. Passing higher up, one sees a great bay in which there are two islands, the one high, the other low, and three rivers, two of a middling size, one going off towards the east and the other to the north, and the third is large which goes to the west. This is that of the Etchimins, of which we have spoken above. Going into it two leagues there is a fall of water, where the savages carry their canoes by land about four hundred paces, afterwards re-entering it, from which afterwards crossing over a small space of land one goes into the river Norembeque and of St. John. In this place of the fall, which the vessels cannot pass because there is nothing but rocks, and that there is not more than four of five feet water, in May and June, they take as great abundance of *bars* and herrings, as they can lade in their vessels. The soil is very fine and there are about fifteen or twenty acres of land cleared, where the Sieur De Monts sowed some grain, which came up very well. The savages stay here, sometimes five or six weeks, during the fishing season. All the rest of the country is a very thick forest. If the land was cleared, grain would grow there very well. This place is in forty five degrees and one third of latitude, and the variation of the magnetick needle is seventeen degrees and thirty two minutes.' 'Not having found a place more fit than this island to make a barricade on a small island a little separated from the island, which served as a platform for our cannon, every one employed himself so faithfully that in a little time it was rendered a defence. Then the Sieur De Monts began to employ the workmen to build the houses for our abode. After the Sieur De Monts had taken the place for the magazine, which was nine toises long and three broad and twelve feet high, he fixed on the plan of his own lodging, which was immediately built by good workmen; he then assigned to each his place. We then made some gardens, as well on the main land as on the island. The Sieur De Monts determined on a change of place and to make another habitation to avoid the cold and evils which we had in the island St. Croix. Not having found any port which was proper for us there, and the little time we had to lodge ourselves and to build houses for that purpose, we caused two barks to be equipped, on which was laden the carpenter's work of the houses of St. Croix, to be carried to Port-Royal, twenty five leagues from thence, where we judged our abode would be more mild and temperate.'

In his edition of 1632, after the above passage where he mentions the latitude and the variation of the needle, he adds, 'in this place was the habitation made in 1604,' and then immediately commences another chapter as follows; 'From the said river St.

Croix, continuing along the coast, making about twenty five leagues, we passed by a great number of islands,' &c.

Having been satisfied from the map in the above edition of Champlain that it was probable the island, there called Isle Sainte Croix, was that island then called Bone or Docias island in the Scoodick, they caused search to be made, by digging into the soil for the marks of the buildings and other traces of European occupation.

This search satisfied the commissioners that there were evident marks of the foundations of buildings. Bricks, charcoal, iron spikes, and other artificial articles were discovered, and the exfoliation of the iron afforded some means of estimating the period during which it had been buried.

After comparing the description and other facts with the Bay of Passamaquoddy, including the islands and rivers, one of the commissioners, who served as the representative of the rest, declared, 'that it resulted in demonstration that the island St. Croix and the river St. Croix intended in them are respectively Bone island and the river Scoodick.'* Here the question would have rested, and a decision been thereupon made in favour of Great Britain, but the agent of the United States suggested, that 'Mitchell's map, published in 1755, was before the commissioners who negotiated and concluded the provisional treaty of peace at Paris in 1782; from that they took their ideas of the country; upon that they marked the dividing line between the two countries, and by the line marked upon it their intention is well explained, that the river intended by the name of the St. Croix in the treaty, was *the eastern* river, which empties its waters into the Bay of Passamaquoddy.'

To establish this position, the depositions of the American plenipotentiaries before alluded to were introduced, in which Mr. Adams, whose statement was corroborated by the others, says, 'that the British commissioners finally agreed to the St. Croix, *as marked on Mitchell's map.*'

In answer, however, to this argument and evidence in support of the American claim to the eastern river as the St. Croix of the treaty, the commissioner above quoted remarks, that the part of Mitchell's map, which relates to the Bay of Passamaquoddy is very erroneous and imperfect. But, that the true reasoning is briefly this; The commis-

* Judge Benson's MS. report to the president of the United States.

sioners at the treaty of Paris intended the river intended by Mitchell; he intended the river which was the boundary of Nova Scotia, that is, the river which was called St. Croix by the French navigator in 1604. The river called St. Croix by the French navigator was the Scoodick, from which it follows that the treaty of 1783, by the term river St. Croix intended the Scoodick. By a supplemental convention the commissioners were excused from ascertaining the latitude and longitude of the source of the river intended in the treaty, and the result of their investigation was the following report, which was unanimously concured in, and has become binding and conclusive on both nations; and the language of which is so plain and intelligible, that it cannot be made the subject of dispute or difference.

'By Thomas Barclay, David Howell, and Egbert Benson; commissioners appointed in pursuance of the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannick Majesty and the United States of America, finally to decide the question; 'What river was truly intended under the name of the river *Saint Croix*, mentioned in the treaty of peace between his Majesty and the United States and forming a part of the boundary therein described.'

DECLARATION.

'We, the said commissioners having been sworn 'impartially to examine and decide the said question according to such evidence as should respectively be laid before us on the part of the British government, and of the United States;' and having heard the evidence which hath been laid before us, by the agent of his Majesty, and the agent of the United States respectively appointed, and authorised to manage the business on behalf of the respective governments; have decided, and hereby do decide, the river herein after particularly described and mentioned, to be the river truly intended under the name of the river *Saint Croix* in the said treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein described. That is to say; the mouth of the said river is in *Passamaquoddy Bay*, at a point of land called *Joe's point*, about one mile northward from the northern point of *Saint Andrews'* island, and in the latitude of forty five degrees, five minutes and five seconds north, and in the longitude of sixty seven degrees, twelve minutes and thirty seconds west from

the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in Great Britain, and three degrees fifty four minutes and fifteen seconds east from Harvard College, in the University of Cambridge, in the state of Massachusetts. The course of the said river up from its said mouth is northerly to a point of land called the *Devil's Head*, then turning the said point, is westerly to where it divides into two streams, the one coming from the westward, and the other coming from the northward, having the Indian name of *Chiputnatecook*, or *Chibnitcook*, as the same may be variously spelt, then up the said stream so coming from the northward, to its source, which is at a stake near a yellow birch tree hooped with iron, and marked S. T. and I. H. 1797, by Samuel Titcomb and John Harris, the surveyors, employed to survey the abovementioned stream coming from the northward; and the said river is designated on the map, hereunto annexed, and hereby referred to, as farther descriptive of it, by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, and L. The letter A, being at its said mouth, and the letter L being at its said source, and the course and distance of the said source, from the islands at the confluence of the abovementioned two streams is, as laid down on the said map, north, five degress, and about fifteen minutes west by the magnet, about forty eight miles and one quarter.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Providence in the state of Rhode Island, the twenty fifth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight.

THOMAS BARCLAY, L. S.
DAVID HOWELL, L. S.
EGBERT BENSON, L. S.

Witness,
ED: WINSLOW, Secretary to the commissioners.

Our limits will not allow us to pursue the subject further at present, but we shall continue it in our next number.

## *The Jesuits.*

One of the first privileges, which Ignatius was eager to obtain from the pope, was that his disciples should not be obliged to recite the office in common. He obtained a

bull of Paul III. 27th September, 1540. 'Teneantur—non communiter, ad dicendum officium.'

In one word, in the privileges which the Jesuits have obtained, a plan is perceivable, formed with address, dictated by unbounded ambition, not only to establish in the society an absolute monarchy, but to elevate the society to the monarchy of the whole universe, by enslaving all other authority to itself.

Nevertheless, if we believe the Jesuits in their 'imago primi seculi,' their spiritual exercises and their constitutions were dictated by the holy Virgin. 'Scripsit ille quidem Ignatius, sed dictante Maria.' Nay, Ignatius was still bolder, and affirmed that his laws and constitutions were not his own compositions, but were dictated to him by Jesus Christ and his mother Mary in persons. The society were therefore to obey, 'legibus ab Jesu et Maria, magis quam ab Ignatio, latis.'

Other extravagances are recorded of them by high authorities, among which one is, that Jesus Christ comes down to meet every Jesuit who dies, to conduct him to paradise; and that none of the society who die will be damned.

Is it astonishing that providence, to humble these proud spirits, permitted them to march in their own perverse ways, to fall into all sorts of disorders, abandoned them to that thick darkness, which they endeavoured to spread over the whole earth, delivered them up to those gross errours with which they nourished themselves and infested all Christendom? It is surprizing that they could not foresee that by attempting this universal subversion of all things they would excite the world against them; or that having foreseen the universal detestation into which they fell, they should have flattered themselves with hopes of overcoming it.

Ignatius, as soon as he had obtained from the pope Paul III. the approbation of his institution, sent his companions into all the countries of the world. Lainez had already penetrated to the court of Charles V. He had even obtained the office of negotiating the marriage of the daughter of the king of Portugal with Philip II. the son of that emperour, and accompanied the new queen into Spain. By these means he opened a way to his society into that kingdom, and it is well known that the Jesuits, having attached themselves to Philip II. found means to deliver

to him the crown of Portugal, where they had been so favourably received, even before the approbation of their institution.

Ignatius and his companions, in their supplications of 1540 and 1543, had promised the pope to combat under his standard; to be his soldiers as they were the soldiers of God, and to obey him in all things. In consequence, Paul III. loaded them with his favours. He sent Lainez and Salmeron to the counsel of Trent, and Le Jay went to it in quality of theologian of the bishop of Augsburg.

The singular protection which the pope afforded them, and the zeal they displayed against the protestants, prevailed upon several princes, who entered at that time into the war of religion to admit them into their states and to give them establishments.

We will quote, from the writings of the Jesuits themselves, their ostentatious displays of these different establishments formed in so short a time in various countries; remarking, however, the artifices of surprise, deception, and violence with which they attained their ends.

In 1540, when they presented their supplication to Paul III. they appeared only to the number of ten. In 1543 they were only eighty. In 1545 they had but ten houses. But in 1549 they had two provinces, one in Spain, the other in Portugal, and two and twenty houses; and at the death of Ignatius in 1556, they had twelve grand provinces. In 1608, Ribadeneira counted twenty nine provinces, two vice provinces, one and twenty houses of profession, two hundred and ninety three colleges, thirty three houses of probation, other residences to the number of ninety three, and ten thousand five hundred and eighty one Jesuits. In the catalogue printed at Rome, in 1679, we find thirty five provinces, two vice provinces, thirty three houses of profession, five hundred and seventy eight colleges, forty eight houses of probation, eighty eight seminaries, one hundred and sixty residences, one hundred and six missions, and in all seventeen thousands six hundred and fifty five Jesuits, of whom seven thousand eight hundred and seventy were priests. In fine, according to the calculation made by father Juvenas, they had in 1710, four and twenty houses of profession, fifty nine houses of probation, three hundred and forty residences, six hundred and twelve colleges, of which more than eighty

were in France, two hundred missions, one hundred and fifty seven seminaries and pensions, and nineteen thousand nine hundred and ninety eight Jesuits.

The Jesuitical historians report the sudden progress of the society and the multiplication of their establishments, with the more exultation, because they cannot avoid acknowledging the opposition they have experienced from all quarters since their commencement. Ignatius was very sensible of the oppositions, which his companions encountered when they attempted to establish themselves in Salamanca, in 1548. Melchior Cano, a dominican, celebrated both for his science and his piety, then filled the first chair. Amid the rapid progress of this infant society, he perceived melancholy presages which seemed to threaten the world with the greatest evils. This great luminary of the church of Spain, though a catholick and a dominican, when he saw this novel society appear in the kingdom, thought the end of the world was approaching, and that Antichrist would soon appear, because his precursors and emissaries already appeared. He proclaimed every where, not only in his conversation and private conferences, but in his sermons and publick lectures, that he saw in them the marks which the apostle had declared should distinguish the disciples of Antichrist. And when Turrian, one his friends, who had made himself a Jesuit, entreated him to desist from persecuting his new order and alleged the approbation of the holy see, he could obtain no other answer from Cano, than that he believed himself bound in conscience to advertise and warn the people as he did, lest they should suffer themselves to be seduced.

The authority of Cano made a great impression on the inhabitants of Salamanca. The Jesuits were marked and avoided. They could neither be entrusted with the education of youth, nor the instruction of the faithful. In one word, the magistrates in concert with the university deliberated to drive them out of the city as a corrupted crew.

Ignatius employed many contrivances to calm this dangerous storm, but in vain. The brief which he obtained of the pope for the bishop of Salamanca, a protector of his order, made no change in the dispositions of the city, and the Jesuits never could establish themselves there while Melchior Cano lived.

It was at their solicitation, and to remove from Salamanca this learned theologian, that the pope sent him to the counsel at Trent, and that he afterwards made him bishop of the Canary islands. But Melchior Cano, though become a bishop, persevered in the judgment he had first formed of the society of Jesu. In fact this prelate, who, as the king of Portugal, in his manifest of January, 1759, says, shone with great splendour by his science and virtues, expressed himself in a letter to Regla, the confessor to the emperour Charles V. in these terms, 'God grant it may not be my fortune, as the fable says it was of Cassandra, to whose predictions they gave no credit, till after the capture and conflagration of Troy. If the members of the society of Jesuits, continue as they have begun, God grant that a time may not come, when monarchs will be compelled to resist them without having the power to control them.' The society was then but in its infancy.

There arose also a violent tempest against them at Alcala. While Ortiz, who had declared himself their protector, lived, they had been able to maintain themselves there; but after the death of that powerful friend, the people, who hated and despised them, declared publicly that they would drive them from the city and abolish their order. These menaces appeared the more dangerous, as Siliceo, archbishop of Toledo, was greatly dissatisfied with these fathers. They had been impudent enough to preach and to confess without his approbation in the city of Alcala, which was in his diocess. Siliceo was a zealous defender of the rights of Episcopacy, and having made some remonstrances upon this subject to the Jesuits, to which they showed no regard, having continued their functions as before, this prelate was obliged to interdict them, and to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against all those who should confess to them, forbidding all curates and religious persons of the city of Alcala in his diocess, to allow any Jesuit to say mass at their houses. In such an extremity these fathers thought it their duty to consult Ignatius what to do. The patriarch answered, 'Spare neither solicitations, nor prayers, nor submissions, to satisfy the archbishop, without submitting, however, to any diminution of the privileges granted to the society by the holy see.' But he accompanied this answer with a new bull, which he obtained in 1549, by which Paul III. exempted the society,

all its members, their persons, their property of all kinds, from all superiority, jurisdiction and correction of all ordinary authorities. This bull prohibited, moreover, all archbishops and bishops, &c. and all other powers, both ecclesiastical and secular, to hinder, to trouble or molest, the companions of Ignatius, their houses, their churches or colleges, when they shall think fit to form an establishment.

With such arms they might conquer every thing in countries where the people made profession of a blind submission to all the decrees of the popes. Nevertheless, Villeneuve, who was then rector at Alcala, with this bull received orders from his general not to make use of it but with prudence. The rector employed all sorts of means to soften the archbishop, who would listen to nothing but submission of the Jesuits, like all others, to his orders, which they obstinately refused. They were also in troubles at Saragossa, where an insurrection of the people compelled them to fly; but they soon found means to return. From their beginning they possessed, in a supreme degree, that profound and refined policy, which they have always employed to overcome all obstacles.

INQUISITOR.

## INTELLIGENCE AND REMARKS.

*The Western Gazetteer.*—A book has been lately published at Auburn, N. Y. entitled, 'The Western Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Directory; containing a geographical description of the western states and territories, namely, the *states* of Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee, and Mississippi; and the *territories* of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Michigan, and North Western, with an appendix, by Samuel R. Brown.' We have looked over this book with a good deal of interest. The work embraces an immense extent of territory, which, although much of it is imperfectly known, has already assumed a commanding importance in relation to our national interests, and exhibits an increase of population hitherto unexampled probably at any period of the world. No country seems to promise so much from its great variety of soil and climate, its local advantages and internal resources. It comprises a tract, as the author says, of almost

*one thousand millions* of acres—watered by several hundred rivers—and containing an extent of upwards of *fifty thousand* miles of internal ship and boat navigation. It has *two thousand* miles of lake, *one thousand* of gulf, and *one hundred thousand* of river coast. In short, the whole country is one continued network of rivers, intersecting it in every direction.

The author seems to have been pretty well qualified for the work he has undertaken. He professes to have been long acquainted with these regions, to have traversed them in various parts and at different times, and to describe either from personal observation or creditable authorities. We could have wished to see a little more science, and to be made acquainted with some of the varied aspects under which the different kingdoms of nature appear in these unexplored regions. This is a field ample and rich, we are convinced, for the naturalist and the man of science. We could have ranged with delight through the forests, and even submitted to the fatigue of clambering mountains, for the sake of gaining some accurate knowledge of the botany, mineralogy, and geology of this country. We are occasionally led, to be sure, into a cave, but it is rather to grope in darkness, and wonder at the strangeness of every thing around us, than for the purpose of any geological or practical observations. But the author seems to have intended only a topographical description, and we are not disposed to be discontented with what he has given us, because we should have been gratified with more. The design is a good one even on this narrow basis. The practice, which has been adopted in a few of the states, of making gazetteers and giving geographical descriptions of small sections of the country, affords the only means of collecting a just account of the whole. We wish only, that it may be made more a matter of publick consideration, and that the governments of the several states would think it of sufficient importance to claim a little of their attention and aid. The task would not be likely then to fall into the hands of individuals, either unqualified, or without sufficient means to perform it. Such a task, to be properly executed, should receive the divided labours of many. Geography, statisticks and science should form separate departments, and be managed by persons respectively adapted to each.

A fault in the work before us, and a serious one, is, that it is not accompanied with a map. Geographical descriptions of places, without some clue to let us know where such places are, other than the mere descriptions themselves, are totally unintelligible and uninteresting. The force of this remark is felt the more strongly in the present case, as many of the places mentioned have never found their way into any map, and not a few of them have never been heard of beyond the narrow limits

of the territory or state in which they are situated; such is the rapidity with which they have grown into notice. And here, in connexion with what has been said above, we may take occasion to say a word on the importance of having accurate maps taken of each state, and if possible, of small sections of each state, from authorized surveys. Few of our old surveys are sufficiently accurate for the purpose. Several states have already gone through the undertaking and published maps not less distinguished by their accuracy, than the elegance of their execution. The best specimens we have seen are a map of New York, by Simeon De Witt, Esq; a large and elegant one of Virginia, by the late bishop Madison; a beautiful map of Connecticut, published from authorized surveys; and a large map of New Hampshire, which perhaps is superiour in beauty and accuracy to any other published in this country. It was the labour of eight or ten years, and was drawn by the late Phinehas Merrill, Esq. mostly from his own surveys, under the direction of Phillip Carrigain, Esq. who was employed by the legislature of the state. Mr. Merrill was a very accurate surveyor, and the territory embracing the White Hills and the vicinity, as well as many other parts of the state, is drawn on the map from his own surveys. Before his death, he had nearly prepared for the press a practical treatise on surveying, which, had he lived to finish and publish it, would have been a valuable acquisition to the art. Price & Strother's map of North Carolina is well executed. It was made from actual survey, and is said to be very correct. We understand that Mr. Mellish has contracted with the legislature of Pennsylvania to construct a large map of that state, and that he intends also to publish a map of each county on a large scale. Howell's map of Pennsylvania is a good one, but imperfect in many parts, which were not settled at the time it was made.

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*Indian Antiquities.*—The following account, which we take from the Western Gazetteer, adds something to our former knowledge of those hitherto inexplicable wonders, that are found in such abundance in our western country. We have not room to examine any of the speculations, which have entered the heads of our philosophers and antiquarians on the subject; and if we had, we should hardly expect, where all is conjecture and uncertainty, to afford much amusement or profit to our readers. There is something, however, extremely curious in the inquiry itself; although we cannot hope, that any very important or certain results can be drawn from the few facts, which have as yet been given to the world. We can safely infer from them nothing more, than that this immense tract

of country, which has every mark of having been for centuries past a desolate wilderness, has been thickly inhabited at some former period by a warlike people, who had made much greater advances in the arts of civilized life, than any of the aboriginal inhabitants of North American, who have been known since its discovery by Europeans. The mounds described below are situated in the town of Harrison, Indiana Territory.

'We examined from fifteen to twenty. In some, whose heights was from ten to fifteen feet, we could not find more than four or five skeletons. In one, not the least appearance of a human bone was to be found. Others were so full of bones, as to warrant the belief, that they originally contained at least one hundred dead bodies; children of different ages, and the full grown, appeared to have been piled together promiscuously. We found several scull, leg and thigh bones, which plainly indicated that their possessors were men of gigantic stature. The scull of one skeleton was one fourth of an inch thick; and the teeth remarkably even, sound and handsome, all firmly planted. The fore teeth were very deep, and not so wide as those of the generality of white people. Indeed, there seemed a great degree of regularity in the form of the teeth, in all the mounds. In the progress of our researches, we obtained ample testimony, that these masses of the earth were formed by a *savage people.* Yet, doubtless possessing a greater degree of civilization than the present race of Indians. We discovered a piece of glass weighing five ounces, resembling the bottom of a tumbler, but concave; several *stone axes*, with grooves near their heads to receive a withe, which unquestionably served as a helve; arrows formed from flint, almost exactly similar to those in use among the present Indians; several pieces of earthern ware; some appeared to be parts of vessels holding six or eight gallons; others were obviously fragments of jugs, jars, and cups; some were plain, while others were curiously ornamented with figures of birds and beasts, drawn while the clay or material of which they were made was soft, and before the process of glazing was performed. The small vessels were made of pounded or pulverized muscle shells, mixed with an earthern or flinty substance, and the large ones of clay and sand. There was no appearance of *iron;* one of the sculls was found pierced by an arrow, which was still sticking in it, driven about half way through before its force was spent. It was about six inches long. The subjects of this mound were doubtless killed in battle, and hastily buried. In digging to the bottom of them we invariably came to a stratum of ashes, from six inches to two feet thick, which rests on the original earth. These ashes contain coals, fragments of brands, and pieces of *calcined bones.* From the quantity of ashes and bones, and the

appearance of the earth underneath, it is evident that large fires must have been kept burning for several days previous to commencing the mound.

'Almost every building lot in Harrison village contains a small mound; and some as many as three. On the neighbouring hills, northeast of the town, is a number of the remains of stone houses. They were covered with soil, brush, and full grown trees. We cleared away the earth, roots and rubbish from one of them, and found it to have been anciently occupied as a dwelling. It was about twelve feet square; the walls had fallen nearly to the foundation. They appeared to have been built of rough stons, like our stone walls. Not the least trace of any iron tools have been employed to smooth the face of them, could be perceived. At one end of the building, we came to a regular hearth, containing ashes and coals; before which we found the bones of eight persons of different ages, from a small child to the heads of the family. The positions of their skeletons clearly indicated, that their deaths were sudden and simultaneous. They were probably asleep, with their feet towards the fire, when destroyed by an enemy, an earthquake, or pestilence.'

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*The late Bishop Watson.*—This learned divine was born in August, 1737. His father was a clergyman and master of the free grammar school at Haversham, in Westmorland, and by him his education was wholly superintended till he entered the University at Cambridge. Here he early distinguished himself as a scholar, and at the age of twenty-seven became a candidate for the professorship of Chemistry. The following anecdote is related by Dr. Thomson. 'I have been told,' says he, 'that the late Dr. Paley, who afterwards distinguished himself so much by his writings in the department of moral philosophy and theology, was a candidate for the same chair. Neither of these eminent men had paid any previous attention to the study of chemistry. Dr. Paley boasted at the time, that he was better acquainted with the subject, than Dr. Watson, for he could perform one chemical process at least, since he knew how to make *red ink*, while his antagonist, he believed, did not know so much. Dr. Watson, however, carried his election, and began the study of practical chemistry with so much assiduity, that he very materially injured his health. I have been frequently amused with the history of his first chemical campaign. He could not succeed in his earliest attempts at experimenting. His retorts broke, his liquids were spilled, and his

cloths spoiled. But by perseverance he at last got the better of his awkwardness, and acquired the art of experimenting with ease and elegance.'

He was successively made one of the head tutors of Trinity College—Regius Professor of Divinity, with the Rectory of Somersham annexed—presented to a prebend in the church of Ely, and afterwards made archdeacon of that diocess. He had been tutor to the Duke of Rutland, who presented to him the valuable Rectory of Knapton, and soon after procured for him by his influence the Bishoprick of Landaff. This Bishoprick is the poorest in the gift of the crown, and in consequence of the smallness of its revenues he was allowed to retain his Professorship of Divinity, the two Rectories, and his Archdeaconry.

Dr. Thomson, from whose biographical notice of him we take these facts, tells us, that his political opinions were the cause of his never afterwards being advanced to a higher station in the church. He early became a strenuous oppositionist, and during the American war was hostile to the ministerial party then in power, and argued the cause of the Americans with zeal and ability. In short, his political sentiments, during almost the whole of his life, were at variance with those who had the disposal of the church preferments.—He was distinguished as a theological, political, and scientifick writer. His best theological writings are his Apology for Christianity, in answer to the celebrated chapter of Gibbon on the Causes of the Growth of Christianity; and his Apology for the Bible, in answer to Paine's Age of Reason. This book of Paine's was calculated to make a strong impression on the minds of the common people; it was for this class, therefore, that an answer was to be written. In this view Dr. Watson's answer may be considered a masterpiece, both as it regards the skill with which he exposed the weakness and absurdity of his antagonist's arguments, and the ability he displayed in counteracting the baneful effects of the principles by which the phrenzied revolutionists of the day were actuated, and which they were making every effort to disseminate.—He also published a collection of Theological Tracts, selected from various authors, in six octavo volumes. This selection is made with great judgment, and is exceedingly valuable to every theological student. It comprises in itself a sort of theological library. Besides these works on theology, Dr. Watson published a large number of sermons.—His political publications also were numerous. He was a warm and active advocate for the abolition of the slave trade. He made strenuous exertions to procure a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.—He published a letter on the church revenues, in which he recommended, that the bishopricks should all be rendered equal in value, and the smaller livings so far increased, by a proportional deduc-

tion in the rich endowments, as to make them a competency. He proposed a curious scheme, also, for the abolition of the national debt, which was, that every person should give up for this purpose a certain portion of his property. These schemes, as his biographer observes, 'indicated less refined notions respecting political economy than might have been expected from a writer possessing so much general knowledge on so many subjects, and so conversant with the best writers of his time.' But no where does Dr. Watson appear in a more favourable light, than in his chemical writings. He was made a member of the Royal Society, and wrote five papers for the Transactions, principally on chemical subjects. He published Chemical Essays in five volumes, which were at the time of their publication highly popular, and contributed very materially to produce that taste for chemical science, which afterwards increased so rapidly. Good judges do not hesitate to call this the most elegant work, which has ever appeared on chemistry. No attempt has probably ever succeeded so well to combine the beauties and elegances of composition with the accuracy and detail of science. Although the science has since undergone two complete revolutions, and received immense improvements, yet many parts of these essays may at this time be read with delight and profit. It is perhaps to be regretted, that he did not devote himself more exclusively to these subjects, to the investigation and improvement of which his mind seemed peculiarly adapted.

*Sansom's Sketches of Lower Canada.*—Joseph Sansom, Esq. member of the American Philosophical Society, author of letters from Europe, &c. has, during the last summer, made a trip to Quebeck, an account of which has been published in a moderately sized volume at New York, by Kirk & Mercein. We should be sorry to be thought among those, who countenance the growing fashion of making short tours and returning home and writing long books, filled with minute descriptions of the national character, the political, civil, and literary institutions, and the peculiar manners and customs of a people, of whom the writer knows nothing, except what he has learned at country inns and city hotels; and giving elaborate accounts of the climate, soil, agriculture, and aspect of a country, which he has scarcely seen, except by an occasional peep through the window of a stage coach. Yet we must allow, that we did not think the evening unprofitably spent, which we devoted to the Sketches of Canada. There is a sort of liveliness in the style and descriptions, which leads us along without much effort, and if we can pass over the author's reflections, when he finds himself in a Catholick church, or when he falls on the subject of the political relations between England

and the United States, we must be a little fastidious not to be pleased, and a good deal knowing not to be somewhat instructed with what remains. He confines himself principally to Montreal and Quebeck, and gives a lively picture of the objects, which he deemed most worthy of notice in these cities. He disagrees with Heriot respecting the height of the celebrated and beautiful falls of Montmorency. Heriot makes it *two hundred and forty six feet;* but Mr. Sansom says it is at least one hundred feet less.

We cannot help pitying the traveller's ill luck at not seeing but one handsome woman in Canada, and she a White Nun, 'tall and without colour.' We presume, however, there were others, although not fortunate enough to come within the author's observation. He is displeased, and we think very justly, with surveyor general Bouchette's book on Canada. As a topographical work, which seems to be its chief design, it may perhaps be depended on, and its maps and views are executed with great elegance; but in other respects it gives a very partial account of Canada, and raises it to an importance in the British empire for above that, which it actually holds. He makes the total population of Canada three hundred and fifty thousand, of whom two hundred and seventy five thousand are native Canadians; and this, our traveller believes to be double the real number. The historical sketches, which the author has made from La Hontan and Charlevoix, form a valuable addition to his work. We hope few travellers, after a tour of four weeks, will think it incumbent on them to write a book when they return; and if they do, we can only wish they may succeed no worse than Mr. Sansom.

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*Linnæan Society of New England.*—This active society, whose unostentatious labours deserve to be more generally known, at a meeting in August last, appointed the Hon. Judge Davis, Dr. Bigelow, and F. C. Gray, Esq. a committee to collect evidence, with regard to the existence and appearance of the *sea serpent*, said to have been seen near Gloucester. The report of this committee has been recently laid before the society, who have given it to the publick. The first part contains the declarations and depositions of several respectable men with regard to the appearance of this, and similar animals. The depositions generally, agree with the popular reports inserted in the newspapers in describing its serpentine form, apparent protuberances, immense size, and rapid motion. But the statements, that two or more of these animals were seen, one a male and the other a female, the former having three white rings round his neck and attended by two sharks and other such interesting assertions, derive no corrobo-

ration from these depositions. The deponents differ much in estimating its size; but when it is considered that different individuals may have seen different parts of the animal, some estimating the circumference of the neck and some that of the body, and also that the size of a distant object cannot be very exactly determined by a view merely, especially if the distance is not well known; these differences cease to be objections to the credibility of the witnesses. To one of them the animal seemed to move by horizontal sinuosities, to the others, by vertical; but it is not improbable that it is capable of both these motions. There is some doubt whether it was smooth or rough, but this might arise from its being seen in different lights or from different points of view.

Some weeks after these depositions were in the hands of the committee, a serpent about three feet long was killed on Cape Ann not far from the sea, and was thought by those who had seen the great serpent, to bear so strong a resemblance to that animal, as to excite a conjecture that it was its progeny. Under this idea, it was brought to Boston by captain Beach, and submitted to the examination of the committee, who found it to be a nondescript, and on account of its external appearance and internal structure, accompanied by two drawings, forms the second part of their report. It has received from them the name of Scoliophis Atlanticus. The report of the committee is concluded by a few remarks on the grounds of the conjecture that the Scoliophis is the progeny of the great serpent.

*Memoirs of General Wayne.*—Thomas R. Peters of Philadelphia, Counsellor at Law, is preparing for publication a Biographical Memoir of the late Major General Anthony Wayne.

This work will be compiled from an extensive collection of original and hitherto unpublished documents, committed for the purpose to Mr. Peters, by Isaac Wayne, Esq. the son of the late general, consisting of an original correspondence with the most eminent and conspicuous characters of the revolutionary war, and of other valuable papers relating to that interesting period of American history.

Mr. Peters solicits the communication of materials subservient to the design now announced, from those who regard it as a duty to rescue from oblivion, and record in a permanent form, every memorial of those illustrious men, to whom we are indebted for our independence.

*Mineralogy of Boston and its vicinity.*—We understand that a work on the Mineralogy and Geology of Boston and its vicinity, is

preparing for the press, by J. F. Dana, M. D. and S. L. Dana, A. M. It is intended to be to the mineralogical, what the Florula Bostoniensis is to the Botanical student. The character, locality, uses, geological situation, the results of the chemical analysis of the most remarkable specimens, together with the synonymes of approved authors will be given. The geological part will be accompanied with a map, exhibiting the structure of the country around Boston, the islands in the harbour, &c. The whole will probably comprise 150 or 200 pages, octavo.

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*Lady Morgan's France.*—The title of this book was probably suggested by that of Madam de Stael on Germany. Its subjects are the French character, and state of society—literature, manners, morals, and the arts in France, all of which seem to have made a very favourable impression on the mind of lady Morgan. She seems to have exalted notions of the character of Buonaparte, and is not sparing of anecdotes illustrative of what she esteems his nobler qualities. Her political prejudices are strong and undisguised, but her means of obtaining information were ample, and she has certainly made a very intertaining book. With the chapter on literature and literary characters, we have been particularly pleased. It contains a good deal of information, respecting the present literary state of France, which we believe can be found no where else. The style, perhaps, is occasionally disfigured by too much false glare, and a profusion of sparkling fineries; yet there are many pleasant descriptions, and some good writing.

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*Werner and Ebeling.*—In the death of these celebrated men, Germany has lost, during the present year, two of her brightest luminaries. They both died on the same day, 30th of June,—the former at Dresden, aged 67; the latter at Hamburgh, aged 76.—Werner has long been distinguished as the head of the Neptunian system of Geology, and of the German school of Mineralogy. He very early showed a strong predilection for the studies, in which he afterwards became so distinguished. He was educated at the University in Leipzig; and immediately after his education was finished, he fixed himself at Freyberg, as the best place in Germany for pursuing his favourite studies. It is surrounded by a vast number of mines, and a little before he took up his residence there, an Academy had been founded for instruction in the art of mining. Not long after, he delivered a course of lectures in the Academy on geology, which, together with other courses on mineralogy, he continued till his death. To him geology owes its ex-

istence as a science ; and from the lectures which he delivered, his pupils have made his system known to the world. No account of it was ever published by himself. His science has been of great practical use in the mining operations of his country. Werner himself published very little. His great fame is to be principally attributed to the writings of his pupils. The gentleman, from whose account we make this abstract, and who was acquainted with Werner, says, 'many of the best works in Geology and Mineralogy, which have appeared during the last thirty years, not only in Germany, but in other parts of Europe, (for he had pupils from every quarter,) are compilations from notes taken at his lectures.' Nor did his favourite studies engross all his attention. He was particularly distinguished for his knowledge of languages, ancient and modern—of history and politicks. 'In his private character Werner was uncommonly amiable—he had a heart, which loved every thing human, and which every thing human loved. This showed itself in all his manners. I never saw a stranger, who took me so completely captive by the first reception as he did ; he had a politeness of the heart, if one may so speak ; his civility did not appear so much an accomplishment, as a virtue ; he did not treat you well, because it would be rude to treat you ill, but because he loved to make you happy.'

Of Ebeling we regret, that we have it in our power to say but little. We have not been successful in our attempts to obtain much further information of him, than the very imperfect notices, which have already appeared in some of our papers ; and it is a problem we shall not attempt to solve, that a man in the first rank of literary eminence in Europe, and who, as a gentleman of the highest respectability writes from Hamburgh, 'has passed his life for the last fifty years in labouring for America,' should be so little known in this country. His geography of America is said to be the best that has ever been published. It has already gone through two editions in Germany, and there are probably few ways in which an individual, qualified for the task, can be doing greater service to his country, than in translating and preparing it for the American press. Ebeling's collection of books and materials relative to the antiquities, history, geography and statisticks of America is said to be the most complete, beyond all doubt, that can be found in either continent. It is a treasure of inestimable value to this country, and one which every friend of its honour or its literature, must greatly lament, that it should not possess. Literary institutions, societies, wealthy individuals, should be eager to grasp a prize so rich and so rare. Nor should our national government be the last to feel the importance of such an acquisition. But our hopes are far from being sanguine,—the king of Prussia we understand has long had his eye on it, and we

have too many reasons to fear, that it will be made to adorn the royal library at Berlin, rather than any of our college halls, or the capitol at Washington. A gentleman, who visited Ebeling but a month before he died, speaking generally of his character, says, 'I find him one of the most esteemed and respected of the German literati—formerly chosen professor of Göttingen, and spoken of with the greatest veneration by the first men there. He was the bosom friend of Klopstock, and is intrusted with his papers.' He was at this time beginning a journal for American history, geography, and statisticks. An article in a Hamburgh paper, written by an associate professor, Grohmann, represents him as a man of great moral worth, ardent in his friendships, diffuse in his benevolence, and eminent in his christian faith and virtues. We hope hereafter to give a more just account of the life and works of a man, who has been so celebrated in his own country, and who has discovered so much enthusiasm in the interests of ours.

*The new earth, Thorina.*—Berzelius, the great chemist of Sweden, has lately discovered a *new earth*. While analysing the deuto-fluate of cerium, and the double fluate of cerium and yttria, he found in them a new earth, which he had before extracted from the gadolonite of Korarvet, but in too small quantities to determine at that time with precision what it was. He found it in greater abundance among the minerals of Fimbo, and ascertained many of its properties. When separated by the filter it has the appearance of a gelatinous, semitransparent mass. When dried it becomes white, absorbs carbonick acid, and dissolves with effervescence in acids. It was called *Thorina*, from Thor, an ancient Scandinavian deity. Berzelius has not as yet been able to obtain it, except in small quantities, and does not suppose, from what he has examined, that he has discovered all its properties.

*Cleaveland's Mineralogy*.—We are happy to learn, that this excellent work, which is an honour to our country, and an acquisition to the scientifick world, has been announced for republication in England. We have also seen a letter from a gentleman in Germany, stating the pleasure it gave him to see this book carried every morning into the celebrated Hausman's lecture room at Göttingen, and used as a book of reference and authority.

*Professor Bigelow's Medical Botany*.—The first Part of the American Medical Botany, noticed in our last, has just issued from the University press. We think it cannot fail to answer fully the very high expectations of the publick, as well in respect to the science and extent of research, as the accuracy and industry, which the author has brought to the work. The typographical

execution is elegant, and the drawings are finished in a style of correctness and beauty, which we have seldom seen equalled.

We have not seen Dr. Barton's work on the same subject.

*Maclure's Geology of the United States.*—The principal part of the two first chapters of this work, was published in the sixth volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. It was afterwards translated into French, and published in the Journal de Physique, for February 1812, accompanied by a geological map. These chapters have been enlarged, and two others added, and the whole work, as now published, was read as a memoir before the American Philosophical Society, and inserted in the first volume of their Transactions, new series.

The first chapter contains general remarks on the method of pursuing geological researches, with a few observations on the different chains of European mountains, compared with those of the United States. The second,—Observations on the geology of the United States, &c. The third,—Hints on the decomposition of rocks, with an inquiry into the probable effects they may produce on the nature and fertility of soils. The fourth,—The probable effects, which the decomposition of the various clusters of rocks may have on the nature and fertility of the soils of the different states. This work is the production of a man deservedly distinguished in America and in Europe, for his sientifick attainments, and contains numerous facts and valuable speculations on subjects of great national interest.

*University Intelligence.*—On the 5th of November the Honourable Asahel Stearns was inaugurated University Professor of Law, in Havard University; and Levi Frisbie, A. M. former professor of Latin, was inaugurated Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. The ceremonies were commenced by a prayer from the Rev. President Kirkland, followed by the customary addresses on these occasions.

The address of the professor of Law contained a brief sketch of the character of the Grecian, and of the ancient Roman jurisprudence, of the civil and of the feudal law, and of the formation of the present system of English law. It was distinguished by its historical research and learning, delivered in a plain, pure, and correct style.

The address of the professor of Moral and Political Philosophy was intended to be upon the necessity, the objects, and the influence of the science of morals. We regret that he was prevented by indisposition from delivering the second part of his discourse. Yet notwithstanding this, we believe that few publick performances have ever been heard by any audience with greater

interest and delight. The last head, under which a discussion was very happily introduced of the moral influence of some of the most distinguished writers of the present day, excited particular attention. The whole performance was characterised by the good sense and importance of its thoughts, by its religious purity and strength of moral sentiment, by the justness of its criticisms, by its richness of language, and glow of imagery, and by that tone of deepfelt sincerity, uttering *veræ voces ab pectore imo*, which gives their highest value and charm, to the writings equally of the philosopher and the orator. If we may be allowed to borrow a style of imagery from one portion of the discourse itself, we should say that it afforded us a similar feeling of pleasure to that which we enjoy in one of our fine, clear days of autumnal sunshine, when the earth is loaded with fruits, and throwing forth, at the same time, all its variety of later flowers, and when our woods have begun to assume the rich colours of the season; when all around us is full of warmth, and plenty, and beauty; yet all is shaded, and softened, and rendered more interesting by those serious reflections which attend the decline of the year.

We trust that both discourses will be printed, and that we shall hereafter have the pleasure of expressing our opinions more particularly.

In our number for July we published the statutes of the professorship of law. We regret that we have not room to insert the statutes of the Alford professorship. They shall appear in our next number.

At the annual commencement this year, sixty seven young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor, and forty four of Master of Arts in regular course; three received the degree of Bachelor, and six the degree of Master, out of course; eight received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in course. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on his Excellency John Brooks, and on the Honourable Jeremiah Mason;—the degree of Doctor of Divinity, on the Rev. Daniel Chaplin and the Rev Nathaniel Thayer; the honorary degree of M. D. on Francis Vergnies.

The officers of the University are, at present, twenty Professors, two Tutors, Librarian and Assistant Librarian, Registrar, Assistant to the Professor of Chemistry, Regent, five Proctors, Private Instructer in Mathematics, and Instructer in the French and Spanish Languages.

There are more than forty resident graduates, thirty of whom are engaged in the study of Divinity. The law school is established according to the statutes and regulations, published in our number for July. It has commenced with a respectable number of students, and under as favourable auspices as could be expected.

Terms of admission to the freshman class in the year 1818, are the same as those of last year, excepting a variation in respect to the

mathematicks, as follows.—' In 1818, instead of the whole of arithmetick, candidates for the freshman class will be examined in the fundamental rules, vulgar and decimal fractions, the extraction of the roots, the doctrine of proportion, simple and compound, with its usual applications to mercantile questions, and algebra to the end of simgle equations. By 'applications' is understood, fellowship, tare and tret, loss and gain, commission, brokerage, alligation medial and alternate.—The rules in Webber's system which are excepted, are circulating decimals, arithmetical and geometrical progression, interest, equation of payments, annuities, position, single and double, permutation, combination and composition of quantities, and logarithms; these rules being embodied in the algebra, which will be taught in the University.

George Ticknor, Esq. who, with Professor Everett, is now absent in Europe, has been appointed by the corporation Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literature, and Professor of Belles Lettres.

*Reading Room of Harvard University.*—Those gentlemen who have sent newspapers and other periodical publications to the Reading Room of Harvard University, are requested to accept the thanks of the proprietors. The publications received will, at the end of each year, be bound and deposited in the library. Any gentlemen who are editors of such works will confer a favour upon the University, and will serve the interests of literature, by sending them as donations. It will be always desirable to obtain complete files at least for the current year.

It is possible that there may be some valuable publications in the more distant parts of our country, with which we are not acquainted. If this notice should be seen by their editors, we beg them to believe, that such publications would be considered as particularly valuable. Packages too bulky to be forwarded by the mail, may be sent by any other conveyance to Cummings and Hilliard's Bookstore, No. 1, Cornhill, Boston, directed to Andrews Norton, Librarian of Harvard University.

*Conflagration of Havre de Grace.*—The readers of the North American Review will recollect, that an article under this head was published in the number for July. As doubts have been entertained by many, and pretty freely expressed by some, both in this vicinity and at the south, respecting the correctness of the statements there made, the Editor has been at the pains to procure the testimony of several gentlemen of known reputation in Maryland, who were, as well as himself, eye witnesses of the transactions which he has described. He would again state, that he was personally knowing to every thing he has related, and that his only motive for bringing the subject before the publick at this late period, was to give a true account of an affair of considerable

importance in the history of our late war, and to correct, if possible, some errours, which had already made their appearance, at least in two respectable histories of the times. He is permitted, by the politeness of the gentlemen above mentioned, to publish the following, in confirmation of what he has said.

'*Havre de Grace, Sept.* 13, 1817.

'DEAR SIR.—Agreeably to your request, several of your friends here have perused the account of the conflagration of Havre de Grace in the fourteenth number of the North American Review. The circumstances of that event are still fresh in our recollection. The impressions produced by a scene in which we were so deeply interested, and which was the cause of serious injury to many among us, cannot be easily eradicated, and we have no hesitation in saying, that your account is calculated to give a very correct and impartial view of that transaction.

'With respect, &c. MARK PRINGLE,
SAMUEL HUGHES,
PACA SMITH,
WILLIAM B. STOKES.

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*Abstract of meteorological observations for August and September, taken at Cambridge. By Professor Farrar.*

| | | Barometer. | | | Thermometer. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 7 A. M. | 2 P. M. | 9 P. M. | 7 A. M. | 2 P. M. | 9 P. M. |
| August | G. | 30.19 | 30.18 | 30.18 | 75 | 87 | 76 |
| | M. | 30.959 | 29.924 | 29.93 | 65.11 | 77.27 | 65·07 |
| | L. | 29.73 | 29.69 | 29.68 | 51 | 57 | 50 |
| September | G. | 30.27 | 30.26 | 30.29 | 74 | 87 | 70 |
| | M. | 29.940 | 29.932 | 29.957 | 58.13 | 69.85 | 57.79 |
| | L. | 29.47 | 29.45 | 29.65 | 41 | 56 | 41 |

Whole quantity of rain in August 2 48 inches—in Sept. 2.72.

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*Abstract of meteorological observations, taken at Brunswick. By Professor Cleaveland.*

*August*, 1817.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean monthly temp. from three observations each day | 66.63° |
| do. do. do. from maxima of heat and cold | 64.80 |
| Greatest heat - - - - - | 90.00 |
| Greatest cold - - - - - | 40.50 |
| Mean height of the Barometer | 29.904 in. |
| Greatest monthly range of do. | .530 |
| Quantity of rain | 2.350 |
| Days entirely or chiefly fair | 16 |
| do. do. do. cloudy | 15 |

Directions of the winds in proportional numbers, viz. S. W. 24.—S. E. 5.—N. E. 5.—N. W. 4.—W. 3.—S. 3.—N. 2. Prevailing forms of the clouds, *cumulus* and *cirrocumulus*. Lightning on the 15th only, during the month.

*September*, 1817.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mean monthly temp. from three observations each day | 61.35° |
| do. do. do. from maxima of heat and cold | 59.84 |
| Greatest heat | 85.00 |
| Greatest cold | 30.50 |
| Mean height of the Barometer | 29.907 in. |
| Greatest monthly range of do. | .600 |
| Quantity of rain | 2.150 |

Directions of the winds in proportional numbers, viz.
S. W. 8.—N. W. 5.—N. E. 2.—S. 2.—N. 1.—E. 1.—S. E. 1.
Prevailing form of the clouds, *cumulus*. Lightning on the 10th, 11th, and 27th.

*Extreme states of the Thermometer in the University in Lexington, Kentucky, during the months of June, July, and August, 1817. By Professor Bishop.*

Thermometer exposed to the sun.

10 o'clock A. M.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Highest | June 21st, 80° | July 30th, 82° | August 18th, 80° |
| Lowest | 30th, 70 | 3d, 70 | 11th, 14th, 71 |

4 o'clock, P. M.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Highest | June 16th, 28th, 86° | July 31st, 90° | August 18th, 95° |
| Lowest | June 18th, 70 | 2d, 70 | 24th, 70 |

Thermometer in the shade.

10 o'clock, A. M.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Highest, | June 21st, 77° | July 30th, 82° | August 7th, 77° |
| Lowest, | 19th, 30th, 68 | 17th, 69 | 24th, 60 |

4 o'clock, P. M.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Highest, | June 28th, 84° | July 30th, 81° | August 20th, 81° |
| Lowest, | 19th, 30th, 71 | 2d, 70 | 27th, 66 |

## OBITUARY NOTICE.

Died, in New Orleans, August 23d, Charles Henry Bruce, Esq. formerly of Boston.

In the death of so young a man as Mr. Bruce, the community generally feel little concern. Few opportunities have been offered at so early an age for asserting the claims which may be possessed on publick confidence and respect. The character, if fully formed, has not had means to exercise and display itself; and, though the loss of a mind which has given proof of the power and the disposition to be useful, is as great and real as if some of its value had already been shown, such proof can have come to the knowledge of but few, and the number of mourners is in proportion. But in that sacred circle where the domestick affections find their home,—where all the holds on happiness are concentrated, and upheld, and enshrined,—there is no season of life when the stroke of bereavement inflicts so severe a wound. The ambitious aspirations of unexperienced strength,—the active maturity of just formed character,—the manly glow of comprehensive generosity, as yet unquelled by the

selfishness, which makes the lesson of the busy world,—have a charm of their own, for the coldness of philosophy to approve, and the hopes of affection to feed upon. Even the uncertainty which rests upon the future, an uncertainty which the attached heart loves to fill with images of happiness and honour,—throws over that stage of life an interest entirely peculiar. The loss of a great and good man, who has been permitted to come safely to the end of his journey, and gather the full harvest of his fame, bears with it its own consolations; melancholy indeed, but ample. It is a comfort to know that a treasure so hardly earned, and so far more hardly kept, as the glory of a life devoted to usefulness and duty, is secure; and there are those who can make it a subject of grateful complacency, that death has set his seal on a fame so dear, and put it beyond the power of fortune.

We do not expect that many who read this tribute will sympathize with us in the feelings which we intend it to express; nor do we hope to add any thing to the impressions of those who have known the subject of it, for his perfect sincerity veiled nothing from the most careless observer. Much less would we intrude without cause on the holy solitude of domestick sorrow. But we should not willingly part forever from one, whom we have been accustomed so to regard, without some memorial, slight as it is, of his excellence, and some traces of recollections, which seem but more vivid, now that the object of them is no more.

Mr. Bruce was born in Boston, Oct. 8, 1789, and was the son of a gentleman who is remembered by many of our citizens with very cordial esteem. He was destined by his friends to a commercial life; but in the year 1809 the dissolution of the house, in which he had been engaged in perparing for it, left him free to indulge a taste for literary occupation, which had early manifested itself. He accompanied the Rev. Dr. Harris to England to assist in arranging the affairs of a deceased member of the firm; and not long after his return, in the autumn of 1811, was matriculated at our university. His career there was without many parallels for honourable and successful exertion; equally a subject of pride and satisfaction to his many friends, an example to his associates, and proof of his powers and worth. His perfect ingenuousness and generous sentiments, his conciliating kindness and singleness of heart, gathered around him a circle of devoted friends, in whose hearts his memory is embalmed with their most cherished recollections. Of his capacities and improvement of them it is proof enough to say, that in something more than two years after his admission into the university, he proposed himself for examination as a candidate for a higher class. The rules of the institution rendered it inadmissible, and to avoid the delay of a year from his professional studies, he transferred his connexions to Dartmouth college. At the commencement of 1814, he was graduated a batchelor of that society, and in the following year was admitted to the honours of the same grade at Cambridge. He applied himself to the study of the law, which he had all along had in view, in Providence, R. I. and having gone through an unusually full course of preparatory study, he determined on making New Orleans the scene of his future exertions. He embarked for that place in October of last year, and had entered on the practice of his profession with very highly encouraging prospects, when the disease which has from time to time made such fearful ravages in the southern section of our country, appeared, and made him one of its earliest victims on the 23d of August last.

In speaking of the character of this most deeply lamented young man, we endeavour to avoid being led into any thing like extravagant panegy-

rick by the partiality of friendship. He was the point of faithful regard, and the object of endeared expectations. As was said of a British statesman, 'he was a man formed to be loved.' He was kind, confiding, active, disinterested and sincere. There was no reserve or suspicion in him. He spoke his whole mind, and he felt with his whole soul. An unassuming, but high, uncompromising, independent integrity was the basis of his character; and a cheerfulness so seldom clouded that one might have thought he had never known any thing but good fortune, was what with those, who knew him but transiently, gave it an attraction seldom so strongly felt. It was most happy for him that he possessed this trait; for sorrow, and in full measure, was not spared him, such as might have crushed a less buoyant temper. One after another the objects of generous attachment had fallen about him; and in comparison with what he had been, he had begun to feel himself a stranger in the world. He watched with a fraternal interest the wasting strength of one* who is not to be named without reverence by any who have regard for friendship or for learning; for of one he was the idol and of the other the votary and the victim;—he watched him sinking into his grave by a gradual but sure decay, till the offices of kindness no longer had relief except for those who discharged them, and the fallacious hope constantly recurring, was as often discomfited and repelled. Scarcely a year since, he had been called to a distant part of our country to attend the decline of an only brother, and but reached it in time to assist at the last duties of affection. Still misfortune, though it came in a shape best fitted to depress such a spirit as his, had failed to subdue it; but it left its strong traces on his character, and gave it a tinge of that affecting tenderness, which none have known who have not been unhappy.

It was his lot, wherever he went, and he had been something of a traveller, to leave behind him many and hearty friends; and he died under the roof of one, who, a year ago, when he landed in New Orleans, was a stranger. Many cherished hopes are buried with him. Many endeared recollections are mourning by his tomb. To us remains his example and the softening memory of his regard. For the publick, what he was suffered to do gave proof of what he would have done. He would have been an eminent and a useful man; and that such a man should be taken away is matter of no private interest. What consolations there are for those, who must feel this bereavement with anguish more bitter than life has any thing to alleviate, there are others who can communicate better than we, and we fear that we have already been only opening the wounds of grief anew. The sad solace was denied them to watch his parting breath, and treasure his last wishes. 'Assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit.—Omnia sine dubio superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrymis compositus es, et novissimâ in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.'

* Mr. T. T. Randolph, whose death was noticed in a former number of the review.

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[The sickness, which lately prevailed with so much violence in Cambridge, must be our apology for the late appearance of the present number.]

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N°. XVII.

JANUARY, 1818.

ART. V. *Harrington, a Tale, and Ormond, a Tale, by Maria Edgeworth, author of Tales of Fashionable Life, Belinda, &c. 2 vols.* Van Winkle & Wiley and James Eastburn & Co. New York, 1817.

To criticise the works of Miss Edgeworth fairly, is much the same as to praise them. They are every where marked with the traces of a philosophick mind, a fertile invention, and a good heart. She does not, like many of her fellow labourers in fiction, imagine situations that never can be realized and elaborate personages that come into the world upon absurd errands;—that live without making us desire to be acquainted with them, and act without exciting our sympathy; she carries us into the throng of living, suffering, and enjoying men and women, animated by the passions with which real life is glowing, and busy with pursuits in which we ourselves are interested. She does not idly amuse herself and her readers with the forms and exteriour show of life, but penetrates to the secret springs of action, and discloses the sources of the passions and the innumerable circumstances that contribute to their accumulating depth and swell—she scientifically demonstrates the almost imperceptible tendencies of opinions and maxims of conduct—and describes with philosophical accuracy the gradual stealing on of habits, of which we are apt to be unconscious till we find them indelibly fixed and wrought into our most intimate composition.

She does not write with a view only to effect and admiration; the object of her labours is human happiness; she aims to illustrate the means of attaining the greatest enjoyment and the truest and most permanent honour. She strips off the showy disguise in which worthlessness conceals itself from hasty observation, and not only instructs us that it is despicable, but makes us despise it. No writer more accurately discriminates between the real and the seeming; she fixes the reader's attention upon the moral qualities and mental endowments of her leading characters, and does not suffer their worth and virtues to be so obscured and rendered vulgar even by the homeliness of their condition, that we can look upon them as persons who are merely well enough in their way, but quite unworthy of our respect or interest; nor are we ever drawn into admiration of little qualities and depraved affections, because they are set off with the pageantry of rank or brilliance of fashion. Other novel writers, as well as Miss Edgeworth, have reflected deeply and widely upon the economy of life, but it is not easy to name one who has so well displayed its good and ill, and so powerfully induced the reader to approve what is worthy, and desire to be what he approves. It has been objected to her, that her design is too obvious and that the reader is too well apprised of her purpose of giving him a lesson and 'talking to him for his good,' and is almost induced to put himself on his guard against so wise and sensible a lecturer, but it commonly happens that interest in the story soon wins upon his pride; he is allured on by the beauties of the tale, while he is unconsciously imbibing the maxims and sentiments of right living.

It is this moral wholesomeness of Miss Edgeworth's writings, and their tendency to make us understand men and their ways, and instruct us how to turn our means of happiness to the greatest account, that principally distinguish them from most other novels, good and bad. She administers an antidote to the poisons which many writers of her class mix in their compositions. *Their* stories abound with wonderful events and surprising turns of fortune, for which no adequate causes are assigned, and which are, in reading, probable only to a heated fancy, and in experience would be considered little less than miraculous. Their fantastical splendour forms a striking contrast with sober and habitual fact,

and throws insipidity and tameness over the events that really happen in the world, while it raises hopes in the sanguine and credulous, that are to be blasted and followed by regrets more poignant and remediless, than the sufferings of actual calamity. It is to little purpose to dissuade readers from these seductive fancies; a thirst for excitement hurries them into the sentimental deliriums of romance; artificial raptures and premeditated emotions become necessary by habit, and the more desired as they are the more intense, till in the end their subjects are then only miserable when they are in their sober senses. They converse with demigods and demons till they can hardly tolerate men, whom they regard with compassionate contempt, as ordinary and tame things, quite destitute of romantick virtues and vices; and they even forfeit their own self-respect by not acting out the heroick follies with which their imaginations are filled.

But it is not the greatest fault in novels, that they sometimes give their readers a fantastical turn of thinking. Many of them, and those too, which are considered essential parts of a circulating library, and of a course of literary amusement, hold up false views of life and inculcate pernicious principles of action;—they array their moral free-booters with such splendour of conquest and achievement that the reader is inadvertently drawn in to admire and excuse in them what he would deem insupportably dishonourable in himself. We have particularly in view the works of Fielding, Smollet and Madame de Stael. One must be thoroughly master of himself, and well acquainted with the influences that determine the fortunes of men, to read books of this description habitually, and at the same time preserve a healthy tone of moral feeling.

It is not unusual with the writers of fiction to represent chance as the arbitress of the world. Men, whether they hold the course of honour or grovel in meanness, are, if *they* are to be believed, but the accidental victims or favourites of unmeaning fortune. The brightness of virtue, prudence, the pride of moral energy, and the waywardness of folly and errour, are matters of curious speculation, but have no influence upon our destinies. One may pursue a hero through two or three volumes of adventures, which do not obstruct or promote the conclusion of the story, and seem to be connected with it only as they precede in order of time. The hero's qualities, designs and exploits are vain matters

that lead to no consequences, but are all blown away by some cross wind of luck, and he becomes all at once the most to be envied or most to be pitied of mankind, not because his character or conduct has any tendency to make him so, but because his mistress smiles, his rich old uncle is dead, or a letter by the post has miscarried. Hence it comes to pass that many devout novel-readers, who are not precisely what or where they would be in the world, never think of charging the adverse turn of their fortunes to their own indolence or weakness, but attribute every thing to their stars. It is in vain to write sensible books, to expound the maxims of common sense to these persons, or to make a direct exposure of their errours and absurdities, for they are of all others the least likely to put themselves in the way of such edification. They must be managed as ingenious superintendants of asylums for the insane treat their subjects; they must be indulged and humoured in some of their follies and vagaries, till reason, having made a lodgement from the quarter where they are most accessible, regains possession of their understandings. In this art of healing the novel-sick mind, Miss Edgeworth is a most skilful physician. She frames her stories with such pressing interest as to engage and delight the most fastidious devotee of fiction; and at the same time interweaves just and philosophical views of life and sound maxims of prudence. One does not read even her inconsiderable works, without feeling his moral principles to be invigorated, and learning something of the means, by which existence is made desirable and useful. On these accounts Miss Edgeworth ought to be ranked among the great reformers, who have given a new direction to the faculties and opinions of mankind, or accelerated them in some laudable course, which they had already taken. Others come forward with more lofty pretensions, and call upon men to become their followers or opposers. She does not pretend to have made discoveries that may gratify the curious by giving origin to a new science, or to utter any system of opinions with which her name may be incorporated and transmitted. Her pretensions are ordinary and in the common course; she only professes to entertain us with a tale; but under this simple guise she has a great and generous purpose. As Egyptian Hermes civilized nations by the sound of his lyre, so she, by the rehearsal of a story, improves the morals, manners, and refinement of nations already civilized.

No writer has done more to domesticate that philosophy, which Socrates professed to have brought down from the heavens and caused to dwell among men.

Those who are at all conversant with the literary history of this lady, must have observed the singular dignity and propriety with which she has always appeared before the publick. The animadversions of criticism have never drawn from her any sign of fretfulness or perversity; the carpings of envy have never provoked her to expressions of contempt, nor has her brilliant success betrayed her into any display of the pride of authorship. The consciousness of a high and generous aim to ameliorate the condition of her readers by exciting in them a lively perception of practical truths, has raised her above the irritations and weaknesses to which those are liable, who write only from ambition or vanity.

We do not mean by all this that Miss Edgeworth is a writer of unrivalled genius, but that she is something better; she does not often astonish by what is great and overwhelming, but she always commands our respect and our thanks. To use a common illustration, the torrent that sweeps along with terrible power and leaves desolation in its track, has much of grandeur and sublimity; but we are not so fond of a spectacle as not to prefer the quiet stream that pleasantly winds through an easy course, fertilizing as it goes, and making its banks cheerful with flowers and rich in fruits. One is more excited and agitated amid precipices and wilds haunted by beasts of prey; but we rather resort to the safer scenes of our author's creation, which, like her native island, are fresh and fruitful, and breed no venomous reptile to lurk in our path.

Bold conceptions and magnificence of description are without the scope of Miss Edgeworth's writings, and to say that she is not distinguished for them is only saying, that she does not write on a different plan; as it is, their introduction would be a fault, since they would abstract from the moral and practical effect. Readers of slow sensibilities and coarse perceptions, have some reason to complain of her, as not being sufficiently violent and shocking, while those of a quick sense of beauty and ready play of emotion, find nothing tame in her evenness;—her acute discrimination of character, the ingenious contexture of her work in reference to the end proposed, and her finished style of composition, are to these latter, more grateful and more satisfying, than the perturba-

tions and tumults of more strenuous writers. Her style deserves particular notice for its copiousness, flexibility and finish, and excepting now and then a cold and far-fetched illustration, it may be safely adopted as a model. The words never impede or constrain the thought, but flow in all varieties of characters and circumstances with fulness and uninterrupted freedom. She has given striking proofs of extensive observation and wide acquaintance with men and their pursuits, by introducing into her works statesmen, lawyers, physicians, farmers and artists and mechanicks of all sorts, and describing the processes and details of the profession or occupation of each; and we know of no author of the same class, who has attempted to lay open and explain so much of the secret machinery by which the great system of society is kept in operation. Had she been led to this attempt by vanity and an affectation of understanding people's business quite as well as they do themselves, we should think it worth while to show that she does not talk of business like one who has been bred to it, and join in the ridicule of those criticks who have discovered that she does not speak of politicks like a minister of state, or describe a suit at law like an attorney. But she has been drawn into these details by no idle or ridiculous motive, and therefore, though we wish she had informed herself more accurately of some things of which she undertakes to give an account, we have no disposition to make her awkwardness or mistakes the subjects of ridicule. She has had two objects, the one, to impose upon those, who should take up her books for amusement, useful or curious information that lies a little out of the ordinary course; and in this she has often succeeded; thus, in the story of The Negro, she gives an account no less accurate than curious of the Obi men and women of the West Indian negroes; her works furnish innumerable instances of the same sort;—her other and more important object has been to let us into those unobserved and long continued efforts by which men make their way to their permanent condition in society, and to shew that greatness is not so often 'thrust upon' men as 'achieved' by them, and to illustrate how wretchedness is more frequently the regular and natural result of some defect of character or errour of opinion, than of any fatal influence of uncontrolable circumstances. This latter purpose does not require an exact delineation of processes, precisely as they are gone through in fact, though we acknowledge it is more workman-

like and more in the spirit of art to give them thus; but it suffices for the purposes of illustration and instruction, if the course of imagined causes and effects corresponds to, and is parallel with reality. Now this is the case with Miss Edgeworth; her persons meet with obstacles such as real life abounds in, and encounter them in a way sometimes exactly conformable to experience, at others, very like it. It was very bold, perhaps sometimes rash in her, to meddle with the arcana of arts and professions in which she was necessarily so little of an adept; but she has so often succeeded that she may be excused for sometimes failing. Few writers of fiction have dared to make so hazardous an experiment; they have been afraid to bring their people into the broad light of accustomed action and submit them to near inspection, lest they should dwindle into insignificance. Many of them resort to foreign countries or darkle in forests and mountains where the imagination may range more at large, and where the strangeness of the scene and wildness of the work constitute half the interest of the story; those who approach nearer to men and affairs still place the main action in the very extremes and outskirts of life, and fix the attention principally upon singular situations and excentricities of character. Those who have ventured into common and habitual life and put their principal persons into situations in which we every day find ourselves or see others, have, with a very few exceptions, proved tame and dull writers. Miss Edgeworth, on the contrary, with all the weight of accustomed facts, and bound by the usual forms of society, moves with freedom, grace, and spirit.

We sat down to this article with a determination to find fault with Miss Edgeworth, for bringing forward her moral too obtrusively,—explaining what is obvious,—making inferences which the reader had anticipated,—and forcing her lessons upon him with too relentless a perseverance. But the more we reflect upon her writings, the less disposition we find in ourselves to censure. She does not write for a select few, who need not her instructions, but for the mass of story-readers, to a great majority of whom these qualities are not faults; and she writes with a laudable determination not to let them off with a mere treat of fancy and passion, but resolves to force reflection upon them and fix a lesson in their memories. To this end she so constructs her novels that the moral is commonly uppermost in the reader's mind, and

he never recollects the story, without recollecting the object for which it was written. The name of Vivian always reminds one of the misfortunes consequent to a vehement 'infirmity of purpose;' the mention of Ennui does not so readily remind one of the sprightly and sarcastick conversations of Lady Geraldine or the shrewdness and comical humour of Paddy the coachman, as of the insupportable persecutions of a powerful, active, and generous mind, morbidly recoiling upon itself.

It has been justly remarked, that Miss Edgeworth sometimes confines her invention by the straitness of her plan, and by adhering so closely to her main purpose; but she has not incurred this inconvenience without reason, for it has enabled her to keep the moral and application of her story constantly in view, and thus give her works that practical utility for which they are so much distinguished. It is perhaps to be regretted that she has written so much, for though she has by this means rendered greater service to her own age, she has the less chance of being generally read hereafter. Her contemporaries read her works piecemeal as they come out, as a matter of course, or as a fashionable requisite, but to undertake against such an array of volumes at once would be an enterprise too trying for the nerves of most story-readers, and the monotony of many of her situations and incidents, and the near affinity of many of her characters, particularly of her unexceptionable young ladies, would in that case be more apparent. Posterity will however probably make a selection and content themselves with some of her best specimens.

But we must not forget Harrington and Ormond.

Harrington is written on the author's usual plan of inculcating some useful truth, or removing some pernicious errour; it was undertaken from the suggestion of an American Jewess of North Carolina, that Miss Edgeworth had spoken disrespectfully and illiberally of the Jews in some of her former works; and is intended to combat the prejudices that exist, or are supposed to exist against that nation; and to shew that a Jew may be, after all, a gentlemanly, generous sort of man, and that it is not altogether preposterous for a young gentleman to fall in love with a Jewess. As it respects this country the lesson might have been spared, for very few among us, who are likely to read Miss Edgeworth's book, can be suspected of supposing Jews and Christians to

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be different sorts of beings. We know of no social or political privations to which our Jews are subject, and Miss Edgeworth has given us credit for treating them like other people. We think the story is calculated to have an effect rather unfavourable to the Jews of this country, as it tends to single them out as objects of observation, whereas they might otherwise have passed on in the crowd without any national distinction. Their condition is stated, on pretty good authority, to be the same in Great Britain, so that this tale, to be of any practical utility, should be translated into Portuguese or Turkish, or some other language, where there are prejudices and injustice for it to act upon. Unless we are mistaken in regard to the sentiments entertained towards the Jews by English and American Christians, the story labours under an essential defect of plan by being directed against errours and wrongs, of which the reader is wholly ignorant. But notwithstanding this waste of strength in encountering a shadow, the performance on the whole, though it does not add to the author's reputation, is not altogether unworthy of it. The story commences at about the middle of the last century for the sake of embracing the period when the Jews were exposed to popular persecution, and the hero, Harrington, is introduced to us when he is six years old, in the following admirable description.

'As I stood peeping through the bars of the balcony, I saw star after star of light appear in quick succession, at a certain height and distance, in a regular line, approaching nearer and nearer to me. I twitched the skirt of my maid's gown repeatedly, but she was talking to some acquaintance in the window of a neighbouring house, and she did not attend to me. I pressed my forehead more closely against the bars of the balcony, and strained my eyes more eagerly towards the objects of my curiosity. Presently the figure of the lamp-lighter with his blazing torch in one hand, and his ladder in the other, became visible, and, with as much delight as ever philosopher enjoyed in discovering the cause of a new and grand phenomenon, I watched his operations. I saw him fix and mount the ladder with his little black pot swinging from his arm, and his red smoking torch waving with astonishing velocity, as he ran up and down the ladder. Just when he reached the ground, being then within a few yards of our house, his torches flamed on the face and figure of an old man with a long white beard and dark visage, who, holding a great bag slung over one shoulder, walked slowly on straight forwards, repeating

in a low, abrupt, mysterious tone the cry of 'Old Clothes.' As he looked up at our balcony my maid nodded to him; he stood still, and at the same instant she seized upon me, exclaiming, 'Time for you to come off to bed, Master Harrington.'

'I insisted, and, clinging to the rails, began kicking and roaring.'

'If you don't come quietly this minute, master Harrington,' said she, 'I'll call to Simon the Jew there,' pointing to him, 'and he shall come up and carry you away in his great bag.'

'The old man's eyes were upon me; to my fancy the look of his eyes and his whole face had changed in an instant. I was struck with terror—my hands let go their grasp—and I suffered myself to be carried off as quietly as my maid could desire.' p. 5.

Fowler made use of this spell to reduce the refractory spirit of *dear little master*, whenever he hesitated to yield obedience, till this idea of Old Simon and a certain Jew of Paris, who used to make meat-pies of little children, took entire possession of his imagination; the moment he was alone after dark, devils and hobgoblins and Simon the Jew thronged in to torment him, and Fowler was obliged to sit by his bed singing, caressing, cajoling, hushing, and conjuring him to sleep, till finally she protested 'that nothing would make master Harrington easy by day or by night, and for her part she could not pretend to stand it much longer.' Accordingly the *faithful creature* is recommended to Lady de Brantefield as a nursery-maid for her daughter, little Lady Ann Mowbray.

Young Harrington's terrours remain and his fear of Old Simon settles into a general antipathy to the Jews, which is encouraged and confirmed by his father's prejudices, and supposed by his mother and his friends to be an idiosyncrasy, this being a ready way of accounting for what was otherwise unaccountable.

Young Harrington's father, a member of parliament, a staunch friend to government and enemy of the Jews, and one who piqued himself on sticking to his principles, at length determined that his son should be sent from home, 'he should not be made a Miss Molly, and to school he should go, by *Jupiter Ammon*, the next morning, plump.' At school he forms an intimacy with Mowbray, the son of Lady de Brantefield, and their intimacy is strengthened by their making common cause against an honest, inoffensive, long-suffering Jew pedler, who came once a week to supply the young fraternity

with such gratifications of their wants and fancies, as their pocket money could command. This itinerant trader, Jacob, who turns out to be the son of Old Simon, is persecuted by his tormentors with Mowbray at their head, till he is compelled to discontinue his visits, and he bears all their ingenious and reiterated cruelties with such meek, unresisting fortitude, as excites a painful mixture of respect and compassion. Harrington's good feelings finally overcoming his antipathy, he takes Jacob's part. Mowbray is actuated throughout by a fell, relentless malignity, which renders him one of those characters that it is a pleasure to detest. Mowbray is henceforward the secret enemy of Harrington, and it is from his contrast and competition with this evil genius, that no small part of the interest the reader takes in Harrington is derived.

Harrington quits the school for the university, and Mowbray for the army. After the lapse of some years, having now become men, they meet again in London and set out in their fashionable career. The Jews mean time are not forgotten; Mowbray meets with Jacob at Gibraltar and ruins both him and his master. Harrington is recommended by Jacob to a Mr. Israel Lyons, a Jew and professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, whose conversation and countenance are greatly serviceable to him, and who gives him a letter of introduction to Montenero a Jew merchant in London, and a conspicuous character in the subsequent part of the tale. Great curiosity is previously excited about Montenero, and it is not disappointed when he appears. He is possessed of unbounded wealth; he is mild, lofty, generous and affable, and altogether such a man as one respects and esteems with his whole heart. But Harrington does not immediately meet with him, for his mother is full of presentiments and presages,—is alarmed at his new sympathy for Jews and predicts that his fortunes are in some way fatally connected with that people; and to prevent the course which his fates seem to be taking, she burns his letter of introduction to Mr. Montenero. With the letter, the Jews for a time disappear, and we are carried to Lady de Brantefield's, who is 'a stiff, haughty-looking, faded picture of a faded old beauty. She is in black, in a hoop of vast circumference, and looks and moves as if her being Countess de Brantefield in her own right, and concentring in her own person five baronies, ought to be forever present to the memory of all mankind, as it is to her

own.' Her character is drawn with perfect symmetry and she maintains throughout the same trivial stateliness and shallow majesty. Here Harrington again sees Lady Anne the marchioness's daughter, whom he recollects when her little Ladyship was sitting upright on her stool at her mother's feet, very vain of her pink sash, and when he longed to ask her whether Fowler had told her the story of Simon the Jew, but durst not speak in presence of her mother; and he now saw her a light fantastick figure, bedecked with 'daisies pied,' covered with a profusion of tiny French flowers, whose invisible stalks kept in perpetual motion, as she turned her pretty head from side to side. Smiling, sighing, tittering, flirting with the officers around her; Lady Anne appeared, and seemed as if she delighted in appearing as perfect a contrast as possible to her august and formidable mother.' p. 55.

The parents all but project a match between Harrington and this incomparable assemblage of nonsense and the graces, but it comes very little in the way of that projected by the author, for which we are obliged to her, as these counterplots of parents are generally tedious and hackneyed, and sometimes painful parts of a novel.

At the theatre the Jewish matters proceed again, and we are brought acquainted with some new personages whom Miss Edgeworth introduces in her best manner.

'The beaux and belles in the boxes of the crowded theatre had bowed and curtsied, for in those days beaux did bow and belles did curtsy; the impatient sticks in the pit and shrill catcalls in the gallery, had begun to contend with the music in the orchestra; and thrice had we surveyed the house to recognise every body whom any body knew, when the door of the box next to ours, the only box that had remained empty, was thrown open, and in poured an over-dressed party, whom nobody knew. Lady de Brantefield, after one reconnoitring look, pronounced them to be city Goths and Vandals; and without resting her glass upon them for half a moment, turned it to some more profitable field of speculation. There was no gentleman of this party, but a portly matron towering above the rest seemed the principal mover and orderer of the group. The awkward bustle they made, facing and backing, placing and changing of places, and the difficulty they found in seating themselves, were in striking contrast with the high bred ease of the ladies of our party. Lady Anne Mowbray looked down upon their operations with a pretty air of

quiet surprise, tinctured with horror, while my mother's shrinking delicacy endeavoured to suggest some idea of propriety to the city matron, who having taken her station next to us in the second row, had at last seated herself so that a considerable portion of the back part of her head dress was in my mother's face; moreover the citizen's huge arm, with its enormous gauze cuff, leaning on the partition which divided, or ought to have divided her from us, considerably passed the line of demarcation. Lady de Brantefield, with all the pride of all the de Brantefields since the Norman conquest concentrated in her countenance, threw an excommunicating, withering look upon the arm; but the elbow felt it not; it never stirred. The lady seemed not to be made of penetrable stuff. In happy ignorance she sat fanning herself for a few seconds, then suddenly starting and stretching forward to the front row where five of her young ladies were wedged, she aimed with the but end of her fan at each of their backs in quick succession, and in a more than audible whisper asked, 'Cecy! Issy! Henny! Queeny! Miss Coates; where's Berry? All eyes turned to look for Berry—Oh, mercy, behind in the back row; Miss Berry, that must not be—come forward, here's my place or Queeny's,' cried Mrs. Coates, stretching backwards with her utmost might to seize some one in the farthest corner of the back row, who had hitherto been invisible. We expected to see in Miss Berry another vulgarian produced, but, to our surprise, we beheld one who seemed of a quite different order of beings from those by whom she was surrounded. Lord Mowbray and I looked at each other, struck by the same sentiment, pained for this elegant timid young creature, as we saw her all blushing and reluctant, forced by the irresistible fat orderer of all things, to 'step up on the seat'—to step forward from bench to bench, and then wait in painful pre-eminence, while Issy and Cecy, and Queeny and Miss Coates settled how they could make room, or which should vacate their seat in her favour. In spite of the awkwardness of her situation, she stood with such quiet, resigned, yet dignified grace, that ridicule could not touch her.' p. 68.

Miss Berry turns out to be the daughter of the Jew merchant Montenero; she is of course henceforth the centre of action, and is destined to excite anxiety and admiration in Harrington and the reader for a time, and make both happy in the end. The Merchant of Venice was unexpectedly announced as the play, and Macklin acted the part of Shylock. Miss Montenero could not support the representation, she was compelled to leave the theatre, and Harrington attended her. The citess is made to express her concern for Berry,

on the announcement of the unlucky play, in a manner the most characteristick, and she is drawn with no less spirit and with as fine touches of vulgarity as Mrs. Raffarty in the Absentee, and one is induced to believe that some real Mrs. Coates sat for the picture. For instance, Mr. Montenero passes by her at an auction without recognizing her, at which she takes occasion to say 'and never noticed me I declare. That's too good.' She receives a letter relating to Berenice (Berry) which she sends to Harrington, having inscribed upon it, 'a sugar plum for a certain gentleman.'

Montenero's house henceforward becomes the scene of the most important transactions. After many intervening events in which the refinement, generosity and knowledge of Montenero,—the enthusiasm and fairness of Harrington—the malignant underworking duplicity of his rival Mowbray—the loveliness and accomplishments of Berenice—and the frivolity of Lady Anne are strikingly displayed; it happens that on the occasion of a mob, the marchioness de Brantefield and her daughter take shelter in the house of Montenero. The lofty vapid imbecility and selfishness of the marchioness is there admirably contrasted with the generous energy and resource of an Irish orange-woman, by whose address they are all saved from the fury of the mob. We regret that we cannot quote the whole scene. While every one is making all possible exertion for safety, the dowager marchioness is reproaching her daughter for bringing her into the house of a Jew, and when her attention is called to the danger of their situation she exclaims, 'a de Brantefield; they dare not; who will presume to touch a de Brantefield?' and Lady Anne simpers out, 'Dear; how odd.' In this scene of danger and enlargement of the passions, Harrington and Berenice are mutually drawn nearer and have a more direct intelligence of each other's sentiments. He soon after declares himself to her father, and though he is treated with greatest kindness, his proposals are not directly accepted or rejected. He is told that there is some terrible obstacle which may or may not be insurmountable. Harrington taxes his invention in vain to discover what this obstacle may be. It finally turns out that Mowbray, while a rival suitor for Berenice's hand, had, insidiously and with apparent compassion and regret, intimated to Montenero that Harrington was subject to fits of insanity. The reader then learns why Harrington has a number of times been made to appear

somewhat silly and ridiculous, and why Montenero has more than once expressed a compassionate concern for him. He also understands why Mowbray, speaking to Harrington of the impression his enthusiasm had made on Berenice, said, to him 'you succeed in that line, follow it up;' and why he had in a number of instances drawn Harrington into situations of embarrassment and encouraged the exposure of his weaknesses. Thus at the conclusion many previous parts of the story assume a new aspect, and if this is not a fault of our sagacity or attention, we think it one in the story itself. It is more flattering to the reader to be in the author's secret. Mowbray's character and the rivalship between him and Harrington might suggest to an attentive reader that something was meant more than met the ear, and on reflection he might have divined very nearly what that something would turn out to be; but one does not study novels. The other defect hinted at above is still more important, we mean the necessity, which the plot involves, of attributing to Harrington weaknesses that make him ridiculous rather than interesting. The heroes of novels are represented to be men, and may, like other heroes, have their imperfections, but then they should be such as add to our regard and excite our sympathy as much as they diminish our respect, else the reader naturally asks himself why this great ado about a person for whom nobody cares.

As to Jacob the pedler, the reader has at best but a sort of tolerating compassion and indifferent respect for him, and wherever he appears he humbles the tone of things. We think he makes much too great a figure. It may be said that this is all for the sake of the Jews, but we very much doubt, whether, if they needed any vindication, they would be flattered with one of this sort. In short,—for we may as well say it here though it is going a little out of our way,—we cannot but consider the whole performance, regarded as a defence of the Jews, to be very feeble. The whole weight of the national character rests upon Montenero, a Jew gentleman,—Mr Israel Lyons, a professor of Hebrew,—Simon the old-clothes-man,—and Jacob the pedler; for all we know of the Manessas, is, that they failed in business at Gibraltar and set up again in London; and as for Berenice she proves to be no Jew at all. Now to reconcile to the Jews all the Lady de Brantefields in the world, who cannot abide them, and the Messrs. Harringtons, who swear by Jupiter Ammon they'll

none of them, one would think that the persons who are to bring about this amnesty should appear with some of the peculiarities of the nation. Instead of this, Miss Edgeworth's Jews act like very christians, except that Montenero is once seen in the synagogue, and even there he acts the good christian rather than the good Jew, for he gives money on a festival, which, if we are rightly informed, the Jews never do. In short the whole amounts to this, that a Jew may be a gentleman merchant and connoisseur, a gentleman professor of Hebrew, an honest pedler, an old-clothes-man or a jeweller, which we think there are few in the world such inveterate Lady de Brantefields as to deny.

We have done with what seem to us the defects of this story, after having mentioned, what has already been remarked upon by others, the cunning and rather ungentlemanly devices resorted to by Harrington to detect Fowler the maid in a larceny, and adding that the author has managed the prosecution of Montenero for the murder of one of the mob too much after her manner of managing law-suits in her preceding novels.

But notwithstanding these faults of design and imperfections in execution, there is much in this tale to admire and be delighted with. The characters are in general drawn with the author's usual penetration and fine perception of the subtile qualities that make the individual. Mowbray, of a savage heart, contradicted and partially concealed by a fair semblance and sprightly conversation, could be portrayed by no other than a skilful artist. Lady de Brantefield is a subject of less difficulty, but there is merit in having imagined her so well; her formal stately insignificancy is sustained and carried out to perfection. Lady Anne is a model in her kind, and she is of a class of which the author always furnishes the finest specimens; no writer equals Miss Edgeworth in producing those unsubstantial forms, of evanescent and ever varying hues, that float like bubbles on the surface of fashion. Miss Berenice too is not to be forgotten, and though she went a step too far, we think, when at the opera she made known to all persons whom it might concern, that 'for her own part she had formed a resolution, an unalterable resolution, never to marry a man who had fought a duel in which he had been the challenger,' yet, on the whole, we think her quite an admirable young lady and much to be preferred to

Miss Edgeworth's heroines in general. These make a strong hand for one novel, and Mrs. Coates and the widow Levy are powerful auxiliaries.

Characters so well conceived and sustained, must necessarily supply some fine scenes; such are those at the theatre, at Lady de Brantefield's after Mowbray's return from his campaign, at the picture auction, and at Montenero's during the mob. In these and some other parts of the story the author gives us that contexture of manners, with which social life is habited, which, to say nothing of its utility, is much more beautiful and more difficult to fabricate, than the fantastically figured work, that is only wondered at and never worn.

This contrariety of excellences and defects is the cause why this tale leaves the reader with mixed and conflicting sensations of admiration and dissatisfaction. We take leave of Harrington without regret on the whole, as we are much better pleased with his successor.

Ormond 'is in some respects the reverse of Vivian,' and illustrates the operation of innate force of character and the progress of a mind, not cultivated by early instruction, but by its proper strength equal to all occasions, and capable of being educated by circumstances. The moral is not very palpably obtruded upon the reader, and for this reason the tale, we think, though more pleasing to the few, is less useful to the many.

We will give a slight sketch of the story for the sake of introducing remarks, not doubting that our readers are well acquainted with it already, and wishing, if they are not so, to give them a motive, rather than a substitute for reading it.

Ormond loses his mother and is left by his father, while he is yet a child, to the protection of Sir Ulick O'Shane, who 'is a fine gallant off hand looking Irishman, with something of dash in his tone and air, which at first view might lead a common observer to pronounce him to be vulgar; but at five minutes after sight, a good judge of men and manners would discover in him the power of assuming whatever manner he chooses, from the audacity of the callous profligate to the deference of the accomplished courtier,—that capability of adapting himself to his company and his views, whether his object were 'to set the senseless table in a roar' or to insinuate himself into the delicate female heart.' 'He had

successively won three wives, who had each in their turn been desperately enamoured. The first he loved and married imprudently, for love, at seventeen. The second he admired, and married prudently, for ambition, at thirty. The third he hated, but married from necessity for money, at forty five.' p. 237. His third wife, the widow Scraggs, was a London citess and a saint; 'still she loved Sir Ulick though a sinner, and to please him, relaxed to the wearing of rogue and pearl powder, and false eyebrows, and all the falsifications, which the *setters up* could furnish.'

Sir Ulick had a son Marcus, a paltry, blustering, cowardly sort of gentleman blackguard, who serves very well as a foil and contrast to Ormond; he had also a cousin Cornelius O' Shane, proprietor of the islands of a neighbouring lake, who styled himself and was styled by his tenants and neighbours king Corny of the Black Isles, and his majesty is very much regarded by every reader of this novel. He is a lover of sport and good cheer, and on the occasion of his birth day entertains Marcus and Ormond, who, returning late to castle Hermitage, the residence of Sir Ulick, and more in a mood for action than reasoning, fall into a fray with some carmen, one of whom Ormond dangerously wounds. This circumstance awakens him to reflection and begins the development of his character. He devotes himself day and night to the care of Moriarty Carroll, the wounded carman.

The widow Scraggs that was, is piqued at Sir Ulick's regard for Ormond, and irrevocably resolves that Moriarty shall not die at castle Hermitage, and that Ormond shall not live there; and accordingly Sir Ulick announces to Ormond that it is time for him to begin his adventures. King Corny, hearing of his banishment, sends him the following letter.

'Dear Harry—What the mischief has come over cousin Ulick to be banishing you from Castle Hermitage?—But since he *conformed* he was never the same man, especially since his last mis-marriage.—But no use moralizing—he was always too much of a courtier for me.—Come you to me, my dear boy, who is no courtier, and you'll be received and embraced with open arms—was I Briareus the same way,—Bring Moriarty Carroll, (if that's his name,) the boy you shot, which has given you so much concern—for which I like you the better—and honour that boy, who living or dying, forbad to prosecute.—Don't be surprised to see the roof the way it is;—since Tuesday I wedged it up bodily

without stirring a stick;—you'll see it from the boat, standing three foot high above the walls, waiting while I'm building up to it—to get attics—which I shall for next to nothing—by my own contrivance.—Meantime, good dry lodging, as usual, for all friends at the palace. *He* shall be well tended for you by Sheelah Dunshaughlin, the mother of Betty, worth a hundred of her! and we'll soon set him up again with the help of such a nurse, as well as ever, I'll engage; for I'm a bit of a doctor, you know, as well as every thing else—But don't let any other doctor, surgeon, or apothecary, be coming after him for your life—for none ever gets a permit to land, to my knowledge, on the Black Islands—to which I attribute, under Providence, to say nothing of my own skill in practice, the wonderful preservation of my people in health—that, and woodsorrel, and another secret or too not to be committed to paper in a hurry—all which I would not have written to you, but am in the gout since four this morning, held by the foot fast—else I'd not be writing, but would have gone every inch of the way for you myself in style, in lieu of sending, which is all I can now do, my six-oar'd boat, streamers flying, and piper playing like mad—for I would not have you be coming like a banished man, but in all glory to Cornelius O'Shane, commonly called king *Corny*—but no *king* for you, only your hearty old friend.' pp. 268, 269.

Harry accordingly makes a triumphal entry into the dominions of king Corny, and is created prince of the Black Islands. This dignity brings with it the privilege of fishing and hunting, and drinking his fill; for king Corny, it must be known, was like other sovereigns, a great hunter, with this distinction, that he hunted badgers and foxes, and not men. Harry joined in all his amusements with great spirit, except that of drinking; while tending on Moriarty he had formed a resolution among others, that 'he would not drink more than *(blank number of)* glasses.' But his spirit of loyalty to his new sovereign was so fervent that notwithstanding his resolution, he obeyed king Corny's command 'to sit still and be a good fellow,' till he found himself fairly intoxicated. Then comes the trial and display of his character, by which he shows himself not to be Vivian.

'After a dinner given to his chief tenants and the *genteel* people of the islands, a dinner in honour and in introduction of his *adopted son*, king Corny gave a toast 'to the prince presumptive,' as he now styled him—a bumper toast. Soon afterwards he de-

tected *day-light* in Harry's glass, and cursing it properly, he insisted on flowing bowls and full glasses. 'What! are you prince *presumptuous?*' cried he, with a half angry and astonished look, 'Would you resist and contradict your father and king at his own table after dinner!——Down with the glass!'——

Further and steady resistance changed the jesting tone and half angry look of king Corny into sullen silence, and a black portentous brow of serious displeasure; after a decent time of sitting, the bottle passing him without further importunity, Ormond rose—it was a hard struggle—for in the face of his benefactor, he saw reproach and rage bursting from every feature. Still he moved on towards the door—he heard the words 'sneaking off sober!—let him sneak!'

'Ormond had his hand on the lock of the door—it was a bad lock, and opened with difficulty.

'There's gratitude for you! No heart after all!—I mistook him.'

'Ormond turned back, and firmly standing, and firmly speaking, he said, coolly—'You did not mistake me formerly, Sir—but you mistake me now!—Sneaking!—Is there any man here, sober or drunk,' continued he, impetuously approaching the table, and looking round full in every face—'is there any man here dares to say so but yourself? You, *you* my benefactor, my friend; you have said it—think it you did not—you could not, but say it you may. *You* may say what you will to Harry Ormond, bound to you as he is—bound hand, and foot, and heart!—Trample on him as you will—*you* may—*No heart*—Oblige me, gentlemen, some of you,' cried he, his anger rising, and his eyes kindling as he spoke, 'Some of you, gentlemen, if any of you think so, oblige me by saying so. No gratitude, Sir!'—turning from them, and addressing himself to the old man, who held an untasted glass of claret as he listened, 'No gratitude! Have not I?—Try me, try me to the death—you have tried me to the quick of the heart, and I have borne it!'

'He could bear it no longer—he threw himself into the vacant chair—flung out his arms on the table, and laying his face down upon them, wept aloud. Cornelius O'Shane pushed the wine away. 'I've wronged the boy, grievously—' said he, and forgetting the gout, he rose from his chair, hobbled to him, and leaning over him—'Harry, 'tis I—look up, my own boy, and say you forgive me, or I'll never forgive myself. That's well,' continued he, as Harry looked up and gave him his hand—'That's well!——you've taken the twinge out of my heart, worse than the gout—not a drop of gall or malice in your nature, nor ever was, more than in the child unborn. But see, I'll tell you what you'll do now, Harry, to settle all things—and lest the fit should take me

ever to be mad with you on this score again. You don't choose to drink more than's becoming?—Well, you're right, and I'm wrong. 'Twould be a burning shame of me to make of you what I have made of myself—I was born afore the present reformation in manners, in that respect. We must do only as well as we can. But I will ensure you against the future—and before we take another glass. There's the priest—and you, Tom Ferrally there, step you for my swearing book. Harry Ormond, you shall take an oath against drinking more glasses than you please ever more, and then you're safe from me. But stay, you are a heretick. Phoo! what am I saying—'twas seeing the priest put that word *heretick* in my head—you're not a catholic, I mean. But an oath's an oath, taken before priest or parson—an oath, taken how you will, will operate. But stay, to make all easy, 'tis I'll take it.'

'Against drinking—you! King Corny!' said Father Jos, stopping his hand, 'and in case of the gout in your stomach?'

'Against drinking!—do you tkink I'd perjure myself? No! But against pressing *him* to it—I'll take my oath I'll never ask him to drink another glass more than he likes.' pp. 273, 274.

He is thus left more free from control and made more master of himself, and every trying occasion, like this, develops in him new strength of character and internal resources. A sprain of his foot afterwards hindered him from his usual sports, and he had recourse to books for amusement, and thence became something of a reader and got from king Corny the surname of Harry Book-worm.

Time passes on very pleasantly between books and sport till the arrival of Dora, the daughter of this 'lord of all he surveyed,' and Mademoiselle O'Faley, her aunt. 'Dora was exceedingly pretty, not regularly handsome, but with most brilliant eyes—there was besides a childishness in her face, and in her slight figure, which disarmed all criticism on her beauty, and which contrasted strikingly, as Ormond thought agreeably, with her womanish airs and manner.'

A great revolution is immediately brought about under the auspices of Mademoiselle; Corny castle is according to good king Corny's notion converted into castle 'topsy-turvy' by carpenters, masons, painters, and glaziers—the boat is kept constantly in motion crossing and re-crossing the lake, to carry on a brisk commerce of messages and commissions; billetdoux and cards are flying in all directions, and the splen-

dours of fashion all at once shine out in the Black Islands. Mademoiselle O'Faley is a lady of no particular age, who glories in wielding the empire of this little beau monde; she generally devotes herself to her friends and delights to carry on a thousand schemes and menoeuvres for their sake. But all this does not satisfy her inordinate ambition; she thinks 'there is no living, what you call *living*, out of Paris,' and the principal aim of her policy is to bring about the marriage of Ormond to Dora, and remove with them to that metropolis of pleasure and vanity. How far the sentiments of these two towards each other made this a hopeful scheme, may be gathered from the following conversation which took place after the mention of Connal, to whom Dora had been promised by her father.

'Dora saw that Ormond's eyes were fixed upon her; she suddenly tasted, and suddenly started back from her scalding tea; Harry involuntarily uttered some exclamation of pity; she turned, and seeing his eyes still fixed upon her, said, 'Very rude to stare at any body so, sir.'

'I only thought you had scalded yourself.'

'You only thought wrong.'

'At any rate, there is no great occasion to be angry with me, Dora.'

'And who is angry, pray, Mr. Ormond? What put it in your head that I was doing you the honour to be angry with you?

'The cream! the cream! cried Miss O'Faley.

A sudden motion, we must not say an angry motion, of Dora's elbow, had at this moment overset the cream ewer, but Harry set it up again, before its contents poured on her new riding habit.

'Thank you,' said she, 'thank you; but,' added she, changing the places of the cream ewer and cups and saucers before her, 'I'd rather manage my own affairs my own way, if you'd let me, Mr. Ormond—if you'd leave me—I can take care of myself my own way.'

'I beg your pardon for saving your habit from destruction, for that is the only cause of offence that I am conscious of having given. But I leave you to your own way, as I am ordered,' said he, rising from the breakfast table.

'Sparring! sparring, again, you two!' said Dora's father, 'But, Dora, I wonder whether you and White Connal were sparring that way when you met.'

'Time enough for that, Sir, after marriage,' said Dora.

Our hero, who had stood leaning on the back of his chair, fearing that he had been too abrupt in what he had said, cast a lingering

look at Dora, as her father spoke about White Connal, and as she replied ; but there was something so unfeminine, so unamiable, so decided and bold, he thought, in the tone of her voice, as she pronounced the word *marriage*, that he then, without reluctance, and with a feeling of disgust quitted the room, and left her 'to manage her own affairs, and to take her own way.' pp. 24—25.

Corny had long ago, and ten years before Dora was born, promised her to the eldest son of Connal of Glynn over a bowl of punch. This eldest son, a cowardly, clumsy, low-spirited fellow—in Mademoiselle's phrase *une grande bete*—demands the fulfilment of this promise, and Corny, though a very kind father, is a faithful performer of his engagements, and 'when he has once squeezed a friend's hand on a promise, 'tis as strong as if he had squeezed all the lawyers' wax in creation upon it.' This embarrassment is disposed of ; for Connal, 'who can ride no better than the sack that is going to the mill,' is thrown from his horse and killed. A new difficulty then springs up ; Connal's surviving twin-brother succeeds to the claim of Dora's hand. Black Connal, so he is called, who has been metamorphosed from an Irishman into a French officer, appears all flaming in gold. His cabriolet and French servant give a new turn to Mademoiselle's ideas. If Connal is the happy man, she sees her way clear to Paris. 'What,' says she to Dora, as Connal was approaching the castle, 'are you twisting your neck, child—I will have no toss at him, now—he is all the gentleman as you shall see—so let me set you all to rights.' 'I do not care how I look,' was the reply, 'the worse, the better.' Connal is introduced, and proves to be all the gentleman, according to Mademoiselle O'Faley's notions.

'At dinner he talked and carved—all life and gaiety and fashion ; he spoke of battles, of princes, operas, wine, women, cardinals, religion, politicks, poetry, and turkies stuffed with truffles ; and Paris forever ! Dash on ! at every thing ! hit or miss, sure of the applause of Mademoiselle ; and as he thought, secure of the admiration of the whole company of natives, from *le beau père*, at the foot of the table, to the boy who waited, or who did not wait, opposite to him, but who stood entranced with wonder, at all M. de Connel said, and all that he did, even to the fashion in which he stowed trusses of sallad into his mouth, with his fork, and talked through it all.' p. 56. vol. ii.

He does not at first take any notice of Dora; whose vanity is piqued at this, and she determines 'to show him that young ladies, in this country, are not cyphers.' This disposition seconded by the contrivances of Mademoiselle soon overcomes her affection for Ormond. She is married to Connal, and away they drive with Mademoiselle to Paris.

Good king Corny is soon after killed by the bursting of his gun, and Ormond is left to himself, to Doctor Cambray and Middleton's Cicero. The death of lady O'Shane opens Castle Hermitage to him again, where parties and balls recommence, and he consoles his regret for Dora, by falling in love with three several ladies in the course of nine days.

He does not so soon recover from his fourth passion, inspired by a certain lady Mellicent; but this does not prove fatal.

The death of his father had before this time sent him a world of money from the Indies, and it becomes his proper business to be a gentleman. He then begins to think in sad earnest of Miss Annaly, one of Miss Edgeworth's 'pattern women,' to whom the reader was long ago introduced and made to understand that she would turn out to be Mrs. Ormond in the end. He proceeds to a proposal which though not rejected, was, as he supposed, treated little better, being, as he thought, wholly neglected. This happened through a mistake, which is afterwards rectified to the satisfaction of all parties.

Ormond does not make the supposed neglect of his passion, an occasion of vain repinings, but partly from resentment and partly for other reasons, hastens away to Paris. We there meet again with Connal, and Dora and Mademoiselle, and have a picture of Parisian Society, which has become as familiar to us as Voltaire's profile was to the artist, who, it is related, could draw it in the dark and even make his dog describe it by gnawing a biscuit. But Miss Edgeworth draws this picture to the life; the only objection is the commonness of the subject.

Sir Ulick is a speculator in business and politicks, whose schemes come to nothing in both, and he is very near sinking Ormond's fortune in his own ruin. He dies of chagrin—a warning against a plan of life that places one in dependence on the smiles of fortune, or the favour of the great or the small.

This tale is not so highly wrought as Belinda, Ennui, or the Absentee, and does not contain so many ingenious and sprightly allusions; but in one respect it is superiour to either of them, as it has not as we recollect any unsuccessful attempts at being smart. The interest does not continue to increase to the conclusion, but flags considerably after the scene is changed from the Black Islands, yet not so as to amount to any thing like a failure.

The persons are conceived with clearness and vivacity, and the performance is marked with the author's peculiar felicity in displaying manners. We are not presented with merely a few prominent and striking traits, but in this, as in her other works, she unravels with delicate ingenuity the complication of propensities within and influences from without. You have not the gross of what is said and done, but you vividly and distinctly perceive the circumstances and manner.—The conversations are enlivened, and action is every where characterised by the significant silence, look and gestures, and the meaning changes of countenance, which constitute the language of nature, and without which the conventional language of sounds is a poor and imperfect medium of communication. These and similar qualities of Miss Edgeworth's writing, as well as their philosophical turn, make them even more pleasing to a reader of taste on a second perusal. He has then less eagerness to press forward to events, and his attention is left more at leisure to search out the finer beauties and less obvious trains of thinking.

The tale we have been noticing is free from striking faults, and contains, besides what we have extracted, many passages that are exquisitely finished, such as the dialogue between Sir Ulick and Corny—Connal's conversation with Ormond respecting the approaching marriage of the former—and the funeral. But the finest part of the novel—and we know of nothing superiour in any novel—is Ormond's reflections after the 'sparring' at the tea-table, and the scene between him, and Dora and Shelah in the eleventh chapter. Towards the conclusion of the chapter, there is a simple but affecting and perfectly natural touch, which, however, to be fully felt should be read in its connexion—it is where Shelah, observing Harry's countenance to brighten, as she thought with affection for Dora and hope of their future union, says, 'I don't doubt but all the world will smile on ye yet. If it was *my* world it should.' There are two instances—one at

taking leave in Ireland, the other a conversation at Paris—in which Dora is very happily made to pay a just tribute to Ormond's worth, when she betrays the workings of a real attachment founded on personal respect, which is in general suppressed under the frivolity of her character and the vanity of her pursuits.

It has been sometimes objected to Miss Edgeworth that her works present no sketches of the great features of nature; it would certainly be an improvement if she would give the reader more hints for imagining the scenes of action; it makes him more at home and more familiar with the transactions. But she makes amends for this deficiency by her graphical exhibition of particular objects and her lively and almost sensible display of persons and actions.

The agreeable employment of remarking upon these volumes has led us on beyond our proposed limits; we take leave of Miss Edgeworth, with the wish that we could have made her a better return for the pleasure and instruction her writings have given us, by doing them greater justice in our remarks.

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ART. VI. *Geschied en redekunstig gedenschrift van Nederlands Herstelling inden jare* 1813, *door J. H. Van der Palm.* Amsterdam, 1816, pp. 172.—'*Historical and rhetorical account of the emancipation of the Netherlands, in the year* 1813, *by J. H. Van der Palm.*'

THIS work is an offering, made to his country by Lieutenant Admiral Van Kinsbergen, of whom we are told in the preface, that he is the oldest of the naval heroes of Holland, and having spent his youth with distinction in the service of the state, is now enjoying, in the repose of an opulent old age, the respect and gratitude, which have attached to a life of usefulness and virtue. But his publick spirit is still active in retirement. He has only betaken himself to more tranquil modes of doing good. He is a friend of literature and the arts, as well as a sincere and enlightened patriot. He contributed in many ways to the late emancipation, and no one welcomed this event with more heart-felt joy. Nor was he contented with mere rejoicing. He seems to have considered, that posterity may claim to have transmitted, in all their warmth and freshness, the feelings, which at-

tend important revolutions. He wished to commemorate, by some imperishable monument, this second deliverance of the Netherlands from foreign oppression. To this end he invited the most celebrated orators and scholars to become competitors for producing a work, in their native language, which should serve to give to succeeding generations a lively and distinct impression of the recent occurrences, and should, as it were, embody in a lasting form, the very spirit of the times. The essay before us was written in compliance with this invitation. The author is a professor in the University of Leyden, and is reputed to be the most elegant writer, that has yet appeared in the Dutch language.

Before we proceed to give an account of this work, it will, we think, be neither uninteresting nor useless to look a little back into the history of the Batavian Commonwealth, and to notice the principal changes of those parties and factions, which have maintained a restless activity within it.

The existence of the United Provinces as a distinct and independent nation may be dated from the Union of Utrecht in 1579. An alliance for some purposes had subsisted long before that time between Holland and Zealand. The glory of extending this confederacy, and of making it the basis of a new commonwealth, belongs principally to William I. Convinced of the necessity of union in opposing the arms of Spain, he was unwearied in his efforts to add other members to the league, and to establish some principles of association, by which they should be made to feel a common interest, and assume the form and character of a regular and integral state. He succeeded in 1576 in uniting the whole seventeen provinces by the pacification of Ghent. But he foresaw that this union would be of short duration, and that Holland and Zealand would be left to sustain the whole weight of the war. To obviate this, he sought to unite still more closely such of the provinces, as lay nearest together, and were most in condition to afford mutual aid. The union of Utrecht happily effected this end by establishing a more intimate connexion between the seven northern provinces, while it professed to leave unimpaired the articles of the former pacification. But the remaining ten provinces being soon reduced by the arms and address of the duke of Parma, that separation was accomplished, which has continued until very recent times. Some districts and towns of the ten southern provinces were at first comprehended in the union, but they soon fell off, and returned to their allegiance to Philip.

In commemoration of this union, the Dutch, according to their usual practice at every interesting change in their affairs, struck a medal, exhibiting two ships with the motto, 'Frangimur, si collidimur.' On the reverse, were two oxen drawing a plough, with the motto, 'Trahite, æquo jugo.' [*Hist. Medal. des Pays Bas.*]

Never were the affairs of any people in a condition apparently more desperate, than were at this time those of the new confederates. The ship, labouring among the waves without sails or oars, and the words 'incertum quo fata ferant,' which appeared on their first coin, were strong, but faithful indications of their feebleness and their fears. Not long after, as we are informed by Temple, 'pressed by the extremity of their affairs, they made an earnest and solemn offer of the dominion of these provinces, both to England and France, but were refused by both crowns,' and 'when they could find no master to protect them, and their affairs grew desperate, they were once certainly upon the counsel of burning their great towns, wasting and drowning what they could of their own country, and going to seek some new seats in the Indies, which they might have executed, if they had found shipping enough to carry off all their numbers, and had not been detained by the compassion of them, that must have been left behind, at the mercy of an incensed and conquering master.'

So doubtful, at the first, was the issue of the attempt in which these provinces had embarked. But no sooner, by a national compact, had they become capable of regular and combined action, than they received, from the genius and conduct of the Prince of Orange, an impulse, which, continued and aided by his successours, carried them in a few years to the first rank among the nations of Europe. They maintained for eighty years, a contest with their former masters, which terminated in the complete recognition of their independence at the peace of Munster in the year 1648. In this interval, during which they were so constantly at war, that, to borrow a remark of Strada, 'Mars might be said to go abroad, and to carry war into other countries, but in this he seemed to have fixed his chosen seat and habitation;'* in this comparatively short interval we find them acquiring pos-

* 'Plané ut in alias terras peregrinari Mars, ac circumferre bellum, his armorum sedem fixisse videatur.' *De bello Belgico.*

sions, and planting colonies in the East and West Indies;* carrying on the commerce of the world; forming the mart for the exchange of the products of the North and South, and thus opening new fields for industry and new sources of wealth. In nearly the same period they added to the rolls of fame Van Tromp and De Ruyter in arms, De Witt in politicks, Erasmus in literature, and Grotius in jurisprudence and morals. Soon after the recognition of their independence, we see them maintaining a long and furious conflict with England, and on the point of becoming masters of the seas. In the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, they were at the head of the alliance, which first set bounds to the power of Louis XIV, and the ambassadours of this haughty monarch humbly sued for peace to the unaccredited deputies of the States General. And when concession after concession had been offered in vain, the French minister himself made a rapid journey to the Hague, and negotiated in person with the pensionary of Holland. A few words from the account which this minister has given of the negotiations of that period will serve to shew the important part, which Holland then acted. 'The once humble republick of Holland,' says De Torcy, [Memoirs, vol. i. p. 214.] 'now performed the office of arbiter among the powers of Europe. She seemed possessed of the right to dispose, at her pleasure, of their dominions, to reserve for herself such as she thought convenient, and to distribute the rest according to her will;' and again,— [p. 255.] 'The general opinion then was, that peace could only be had by the offices and intervention of the Dutch. They might be considered as the guardians of her temple; the key was in their hands, and none could enter whom they did not introduce.'

The causes of this rapid advancement are to be sought in the persevering character of the Dutch; that 'plain downright sense to understand and do their business both publick and private,' of which they possess a larger share, than any other people; their singular good fortune in having several successive princes of the House of Orange of eminent character and abilities, and lastly in that love of liberty, which has come down to them from their remotest ancestors. The history of the world affords no example of a contest so long

* The Dutch East India Company was established in 1602. That of the West Indies in 1621.

and so successfully maintained by subjects against their sovereign; by a people just beginning their national existence against a monarch, who had lately received from the hands of his father a kingdom then in the plenitude of its grandeur and power; by men habitually peaceful, against those, who had been trained to arms in the school of a conqueror. When we compare the resources of Philip with those of the republick, we are at a loss to know by what means it could have been saved from being instantly crushed. Nor were the difficulties, which it encountered, in fact, few or easily overcome. 'No state,' says Temple, 'was ever born with stronger throes, or nursed up with harder fare, or inured to greater labours or dangers in the whole course of its youth.' Perhaps the love of freedom alone would not have triumphed over so severe a trial, had it not been seconded by religious zeal, and by that strong hatred of the Spanish name and character, which had been excited by the oppressions of Philip, and the insolence of his ministers. Of the cruelty of that gloomy bigot, some idea may be formed from the exulting exclamation of one of his apologists, 'Iconomachi passim et undique sine misericordia necantur. Replentur cruces cadaveribus, Germania exulibus.' [Burgundius, p. 346.] He had declared, that 'he would rather not be a king, than have hereticks for his subjects,' and he acted in the spirit of this declaration. Deaf to all remonstrances and entreaties, and even to the claims upon his gratitude arising from services the most faithful and the most important, he suffered the Counts Egmont and Horne to be sacrificed to the vindictive spirit of his minister. He violated, without scruple, the most solemn engagements. He persisted, against the fundamental laws, in introducing fourteen new bishops, and thus awakened fears for the safety of privileges, which his subjects numbered among their most valued possessions, and their most sacred rights. He sent Alva, whose 'council of blood' confirmed all that had been feared, and whose statue, 'treading and insulting on the two estates,' enkindled feelings perhaps still more difficult to appease.* We ought not then much to wonder, that the inhabitants of these provinces pre-

* 'Alva returned to Brussels with the triumph of a conqueror, and had a statue of himself cast from the cannon taken from Lewis of Nassau, treading and insulting on two smaller statues, representing the two estates, and this he erected at Antwerp in the citadel.' *Temple's Observations*, &c. p. 16.

ferred any fate to that of being again subjects of Spain. If more be thought necessary to account for the spirit, which supported the Dutch in their struggle against the gigantick power of Philip, the reader may turn to De Thou's narrative of the eight months' siege and obstinate defence of Haarlem in 1573. This siege is among the most remarkable in modern history. The melting of the ice having made the roads impassable for carriers, recourse was had to an expedient known in ancient times. Doves were carried in cages to the neighbouring friendly towns, and were let fly, when it was wished to give intelligence to the besieged, with letters fastened to their wings, which they never failed to bear directly to Haarlem. During the siege, there were 10,256 discharges of cannon. The besiegers lost several generals, and four thousand soldiers. The besieged were reduced by slaughter, sickness and famine, from four thousand to fifteen hundred. There were two grand assaults vigorously made and more vigorously repelled. Several naval battles were fought, particularly one on the 28th of May between the Prince of Orange's fleet, consisting of one hundred sail, and that commanded by the Count of Bossu of about sixty sail. The former was defeated and put to flight after a loss of twenty one sail.

But the cruelty of the Spaniards after the surrender is what principally demands our attention. It is thus related by De Thou, who wrote within thirty years after the event.

'After the surrender, the Duke of Alva came from Amsterdam, and had hardly arrived, when he caused three hundred Flemings to be hanged. The next day, he beheaded Riperda, the commander, who from the first had opposed a surrender, and his second in command shared the same fate. Four days afterwards, he ordered the throats of three hundred common soldiers to be cut by the executioner, without the gates of the city. He suffered some days interval to elapse, that the horrour of the spectacle might be greater and make a deeper impression. Four days after this, he beheaded Brederod, Rosony and the Treasurer of the Briel, and after four days more, he imprisoned all who were suspected on account of religion, every one of whom, in one way or another, he soon found means to destroy.' [De Thou, Hist. Univ. tom. vi. p. 55.] And again—[p. 583.] 'Some weeks after the surrender, three hundred French, English and Flemings, who had been kept in prison from the time of the surrender, were

put to death by order of Frederick, the son of Alva. A few days before this, the principal inhabitants of Haarlem, and the leaders of the Flemish troops, that had defended the place, were removed to Schooten, where they were put to death on the 16th of that month.'

An anecdote of this siege is related by the Abbé Raynal, in his very inaccurate history of the Stadtholders, which is also hinted at by Temple and by Strada, viz. that the women formed themselves into a company, and were about to sally out from the town, and assist in attacking the besiegers, had not the alarm, which the report of this intention produced among the Spaniards, caused them to offer terms of capitulation. The name even of the matron (Kennava) who proposed this spirited effort is handed down to posterity. But as the story is not related by De Thou, who wrote so near the time, and who seems to have collected every minute particular of the siege, we conclude it to be a mistake, and to have been founded on another fact mentioned by him, viz. that, when reduced to despair, and perishing by famine, the besieged resolved, as one last effort, to attempt their escape from the city, by placing seven companies of harquebussiers in front, nine more in the rear, and the magistrates with the women and children in the centre, and thus marching out in the face of the enemy. While they were preparing for this, proposals for a capitulation were received.

It is further to be remembered, that such of the inhabitants of the Southern provinces as were animated with the most resolute hostility to Spain, sought refuge in those of the North, and thus was produced a concentration of force and of zeal, which contributed not a little to secure the independence of the latter. But, at the same time, this retreat of all the more violent and heated spirits, to the newly confederated states, served to introduce into their composition a more than ordinary share of the elements of political combustion. They had besides from the earliest times been accustomed to the constitution of the three estates, and under the government of the House of Burgundy, and afterwards of that of Austria, each province had tenaciously maintained its local privileges and rights. There was therefore a spirit of liberty, and a jealousy of oppression and wrong, which, combined with the cause just mentioned, could hardly fail to shoot up into parties and factions. The nature of the government encouraged this tendency. It was an aristocracy, or rather a gradation of

aristocracies, ascending from the government of each town and city up to the administration of the whole, and excluding the common people from any direct share of power. In no form of government are parties so sure to exist, and so violent in their operations, as in those, which are a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy, without any popular branch, which, by its power of uniting with either, becomes a check upon both. In such a government there is a perpetual struggle between the two branches, each of which seeks to appropriate to itself the power, belonging to the other. The foreign dangers, to which the Dutch were exposed, could not save them from this effect of their form of civil polity. In the infancy of their nation two great parties appeared, which, from that time until their conquest by France, continued at intervals to produce the most violent agitations. The willing reception, which Holland gave to her republican invaders, should not be ascribed solely to the French revolution, nor to the inroads of the new philosophy. Through the whole course of her history, this event had been preparing. It was perhaps accelerated by causes connected with the French revolution, but the efficient cause is to be found in the factions, which had long prevailed within herself. And here we must again quote Temple, who, speaking of these factions, says, that 'under the name of the Prince of Orange's and the Arminian party, they have ever made the weak side of this state, and whenever their period comes will prove the occasion of their fall.'

Religious distinctions lay at the very foundation of these parties, and have contributed much to increase their bitterness and obstinacy. The Arminians were accused of favouring the Romish religion, and the restoration of the Spanish power, while their opponents, boasting themselves to be the advocates of the purer principles of the reformation, were by them charged with the design of establishing an absolute dominion in the House of Orange, and with refusing for that purpose all terms of peace with Spain.

Olden Barnevelt is well known as the first leader of the Arminian or Antistadtholderian party. And when with his name we associate that of Grotius, it must be confessed, that an opposition has seldom had a parentage more respectable. The execution of the former on the scaffold, and the imprisonment and exile of the latter, must forever tarnish the otherwise illustrious name of Maurice, the son and successour of William I. But it is to be remembered,

as some extenuation of these acts, that the father of this prince had perished by assassination at the moment when the States were about to establish in his person an hereditary limited sovereignty, and thus to place his family at that elevation, to which his successours, after so many revolutions and changes, have at last attained.

Barnevelt and Maurice were at first friends. [Burnet, vol. i. p. 442.] The interest which the latter found in prolonging the war with Spain was the first cause of division between them. In the religious disputes, which soon after began, they placed themselves at the head of the rival parties, and their hatred of each other exceeded all bounds. Although the States General had no power over the provinces, the influence of Maurice was sufficient to induce them to erect a special tribunal for the trial of Barnevelt, Grotius, and other of his enemies. They were accused of 'fomenting sedition and raising distractions in the country.' Barnevelt was condemned and beheaded, exclaiming with his last breath, 'My God, what will become of mankind.' We are told by Burnet, 'that every one of the judges had a great gold medal given them, in the reverse of which the Synod of Dort was represented, which was called by the same authority.'

The death of Barnevelt, and the energetick character of Maurice and his immediate successour, seem to have suspended for a time the operations of this party. But in the middle of the seventeenth century it again appeared under circumstances of splendour and power, such as it had not before known. De Witt was then at its head, a man than whom none perhaps ever better deserved the title of *great*. During nineteen years, in the minority of William, afterwards king of England, this extraordinary statesman wielded, with absolute sway and with distinguished ability, the affairs of the United Provinces. In the greater part of his administration he had to support a naval war with England, in which he displayed the wonderful force of his genius, and his accurate knowledge of the resources of his country, of which he is said to have always carried tables in his pocket, so that at one view, he could tell of what it was capable. Resolved to retrieve the losses, which the Dutch had sustained at sea, he went himself on board the fleet, astonished De Ruyter by the rapidity with which he acquired a knowledge of maritime affairs; and in 1666 he gained a signal victory over the English fleet, after an engagement of two days. [Burnet, vol. i.

p. 310—321.] In his manners and deportment he preserved all the simplicity and plainness of a private citizen, while he exercised all the authority of the chief office in the commonwealth. No one understood, so well as he, the political interests of Europe ; no one was so able to struggle with difficulty, or to foresee the coming storm. In his prudence and sagacity his country might at all times safely have reposed its trust. But in the character of his party there was one feature, which he, in common with others, partook, and of which it is necessary to take some notice.

The constitution adopted by the seven provinces was that of a number of allied states, each retaining its sovereignty entire, while together they formed one political body, and submitted their common interests to the management of the same councils. The power of the Stadt-holder was limited. To preserve the shadow of executive authority, it was necessary for him, by direct or indirect means, to acquire and maintain a strong influence in the senates of the several towns. The states could decide nothing in their ordinary affairs without the consent of a majority of the towns, and when the question related to peace or war, foreign alliances, or the privileges of the respective provinces, an unanimous assent was required. In all cases the deputies were obliged to consult their constituents, and to derive from them an express authority for their vote. A state thus constituted held out a perpetual invitation to foreign intrigue. It was easy for some ambitious neighbour, by affording protection to some one of its domestick factions, to acquire a dangerous influence in its concerns. The Arminian party was consequently the French party. A connexion and correspondence was kept up with little intermission, almost from the beginning of the national existence of the Dutch, between the French ministers and the principal enemies of the House of Orange. Here was the fatal errour of De Witt. By augmenting the separate jurisdiction of the towns, he increased his own popularity, and the power of his party ; but he weakened the union of the Provinces. Had he, instead of relying on that party and on the influence of France, given greater energy to the general government, by reviving the authority of the council of state—which, according to Burnet, [vol. i. p. 445.] 'during his ministry, had sunk so low, that it was considered only as one of the forms of the government,'—his power would have rested on a more solid basis. As it was, his credit fell with that of the French ; and

the impolitick invasion of Holland by Louis, in 1672, occasioned the overthrow of De Witt and his friends. The Prince of Orange, better known to us in English history, as William III. then regained the power and authority, which his ancestors had enjoyed. De Witt, we hardly need to add, was soon after with his brother beaten to death by the infuriate populace.

It is much to the honour of this statesman, that notwithstanding 'his hereditary hatred of the House of Orange,' [Burnet, vol. i. p. 309.] and the maxim of his party, 'that the making of a Stadt-holder was the giving up of their liberty,' he yet was careful to give the young Prince of Orange a good education, and to infuse into his mind many excellent maxims of government;—for he foresaw, that his perpetual edict of exclusion might not always keep this Prince from the exercise of power.

In the reign of William III. we hear little of the Arminian party. Heinsius, his confidant and minister, who had the supreme direction of affairs in Holland, had not forgotten, that while exercising the sacred office of ambassador, he had been threatened with the bastile by Louvois, the French minister. It was the first object of his policy to reduce and weaken France. To this end, he co-operated with Eugene and Marlborough in managing the affairs of the triple alliance, and the negotiation for the succession of Spain. De Torcy has thus portrayed him.

'He had a consummate knowledge of affairs derived from long experience; intimately connected with Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough, they together formed their plans, and fixed on the time for their execution; the method and the means were directed by them; they were indeed the soul of the league; but the Pensionary was not accused of loving the importance, which the war gave him, so well as to wish to prolong it, nor indeed of any views of personal interest. His exteriour was simple. There was no display in his house; his attendants, consisting only of a secretary, a coachman, a man-servant and a maid-servant, were far from denoting the rank of a prime minister. His approach was cold, but in his manners there was nothing rude. His conversation was polished. In dispute he seldom grew warm.' vol. ii. p. 3.

Upon the death of William III. in 1702, the Arminian party had influence enough to prevent the revival of the dig-

nity of Stadt-holder, and the office remained vacant until the year 1748, when another French invasion restored it, and induced the States to make it hereditary in the family of Orange. From this time, there is nothing in the history of this party, deserving of particular notice, until it was brought again into activity by the American war. We shall now see it producing results more immediately relative to our present purpose, and shall enter upon that period of Dutch history, the conclusion of which is the subject of Mr. *Van der Palm's* essay.

It is not a little remarkable, that the colonies of England, contending for independence, should have received important aid from a people, who only two centuries before had been assisted by that kingdom in throwing off the yoke of Spain. The conduct of the Prince of Orange at this period was the first ground of complaint, of which the opposing party availed itself, for exciting jealousy and distrust of his government. We will not spend time in detailing events so recent, as those which followed from the close of the American Revolution, to the open defiance of the Stadt-holder's power by the principal Dutch provinces. Holland, especially the city of Amsterdam, was the most bold and determined in hostility. In 1785 the states of that province passed a decree suspending the Prince from his government of the Hague. Shortly after, they declared him divested of all his functions, as captain general within that province, and released the army from their military oaths. One act of violence followed another, till the whole country exhibited a scene, which Rome, in her most turbulent and factious days, could hardly be said to have equalled. Imprisonment, and even death, were decreed as the penalty of wearing the orange coloured badge. In Utrecht, an order was made, that no two persons should stop in the streets to confer. Riots, attended with the loss of lives, occurred almost daily. All law and order seemed at an end, and in the general anarchy, the passions of the rival parties broke loose, and raged, with uncontrolled violence.

It was not now a contest among a few nobles or grandees for the division of power; the people had discovered the secret of their strength, and were resolved no longer to be excluded from all share in the government of their country. In Rotterdam on the 23d of April, 1787, and in Amsterdam on the same day, the armed burghers surrounded the senate house, and compelled the senate to depose several of its mem-

bers. Utrecht had long before established its college of tribunes, and many other towns adopted plans of government more or less democratick. Every thing seemed tending to a revolution, that should totally change the moral and political state of the country.

In spite of the strict neutrality observed by the States General, and their efforts to maintain the publick peace, the parties at last on the 9th of May, 1787, came to open violence. The Provincial States of Utrecht thought it necessary to occupy with a military force two important posts in the neighbourhood of the chief city of their province; but their troops were dislodged by the citizens. On the 28th of the same month, a scene of uproar and pillage took place at Amsterdam, which continued for two days in succession, with such violence, that the houses of the Stadt-holder's party were attacked and p'undered by the populace. Such was the serious aspect of affairs in Holland in the summer of 1787.

But the arrest of the Princess of Orange at Schoenhoven, on the 28th of June, stimulated the king of Prussia to send immediate assistance to the Prince Stadt-holder. He accordingly, after demanding satisfaction for this insult to his relative, raised a force of 14,000 men, the command of which he entrusted to the Duke of Brunswick. This General entered Holland in September. Gorcum surrendered to him on the 17th of that month. On the 18th a revolution took place at the Hague. The Orange ribbons were immediately displayed, and the Prince was invited to return. Amsterdam alone held out, trusting in its supposed impregnable position. But a succession of prudent measures on the part of the Duke of Brunswick compelled the surrender of that city on the 10th of October, and thus tranquillity was restored. In the beginning of these discontents Van Berkel had been the leader of the republican party. His talents and influence qualified him to be the successour of Barnevelt and De Witt; and, perhaps, had he continued to direct the operations of the party, the government of the Stadt-holder would then have been overthrown. He accepted the appointment of minister to the United States, and thus deprived his friends of a co-operation, the value of which may be understood from the fact, that the Princess of Orange made it one of her demands, that he should be deprived of the office of Pensionary of Amsterdam.

During these agitations, the ancient connexion between the Anti-Orange party and France was not forgotten. The republicans looked to France for aid and encouragement. When Holland, in consequence of the preference of the Orange cause by the regular army, was left without soldiers, French officers and soldiers, disguised as common travellers, made their way, in small parties, into the country. The appointment of the Marshal de Maillebois in 1786 to command the forces of the United Provinces was at once a proof of the influence of France, and a measure well calculated to extend it.

We have given this rapid sketch of the rise of parties in Holland, not because we hoped to convey any new information, but because it seemed to us desirable to bring the whole into one view, and to connect the past history of that country with that of the period, to which the book we are reviewing immediately relates. We shall not detain the reader with an account of the short-lived insurrection in the Austrian Netherlands, which began in October, 1789, and ended in June, 1791, soon after the accession of Leopold to the empire. The French revolutionary principles had infected great numbers in those provinces before peace was restored. Perhaps the want of concert in the leaders of the insurrection may have been caused by a part of them only having embraced the new doctrines. But, whatever may have been the cause, they were unable to govern themselves, and after decreeing themselves sovereign, assuming the title of 'High and Mighty States,' and pronouncing Joseph to have forfeited the government, they, at last, submitted to his successour, and permitted his inauguration at Brussels, as Duke of Brabant.

From this outline it is, we suppose, sufficiently evident, that both in the United Provinces, and in Belgium, there was a numerous party, prepared to enter into all the views of the French reformers, and to accept their proffered fraternity. In Holland, this party had kept pace, in its growth, with the state itself. It had boasted, at intervals, of the most distinguished statesmen, as its leaders. It had always been powerful in talents and wealth; and though sometimes it seemed to slumber, yet it was only to awake with new energy. At the breaking out of the French revolution, there still remained much of the heat of that quarrel, which the Prussian arms had silenced, but could not entirely subdue. The new doctrines of liberty and equality were wonderfully well adapted to

unite with, and to increase this fervour. The opposers of the House of Orange became, almost of course, disciples of the Jacobin Club. They were not backward in forming patriotick associations for propagating the truths, which had so recently been rescued from the darkness of prejudice and errour. They were impatient to enter on the experiment of a system, which appeared so perfect in theory, and promised so much happiness and security.

The events, which followed, from the defeat of the allies by Pichegru in 1795, and the consequent flight of the Prince of Orange, to the coronation of Louis Napoleon as King of Holland in 1806, need not be detailed. It would be neither useful nor entertaining to describe particularly the different forms of government, which, under one pretence or another, were imposed upon this cheated country. We shall merely notice those, which immediately preceded the annexation of Holland to France.

In his annual exposé, 26 December, 1804, Champagny thus expressed himself.

'Batavia still groans under an oligarchical government, without union in its views, without patriotism, and without vigour. Her colonies have been, a second time, sold and delivered up to England without firing a gun; but this nation has energy, morals and economy; *it wants only a firm, patriotick and enlightened government.*'

The fulfilment of this omen was not long delayed. In the very next month appeared the new constitution, establishing a legislative assembly with the title of 'High Mightinesses,' and a sort of executive magistrate, called the Grand Pensionary. The first and only incumbent in this office was Schimmelpenninck. We gladly turn aside from the speech made, on his accession to office, by this wretched tool of a tyrant's ambition, to extract a part of the independent opinion pronounced in the Legislative Assembly by *Van Wyngaarden*, in January 1805, upon a demand of the executive directory for a further contribution, accompanied with a threat of military compulsion.

'Whatever measures of coercion may be used, whatever detestable and unlawful means may be employed, to persecute those, who should contribute, the petty or secret war against the finances increases in the same proportion as the pressure; the people can no longer endure it; they begin to feel, after having but too long performed their duty to their country with their purses, that

the first duties of a husband and a father call on them to be careful, and make them swear to resist new extortions, and the dangers impending over their heads. I have long thought this operation must stop, as it was only kept on foot in the hope and expectation of uncertain events. I have seen, during and since last summer, how obstinately and without the least concession, the state directory, notwithstanding this assembly endeavoured to preserve unanimity with them, thought proper to try to intimidate it by the most improper and preposterous menaces.

'One of the strongest marks of the oppression and misery, to which the nation is reduced, especially by the contributions, is that we do not, as formerly, hear one complaining voice, but that the public energy is deadened and palsied by the fear of foreign force; and the artifice, with which we are constantly threatened, is most evident. Every body sighs in secret, and many as privately as possible begin to provide for their own safety; whilst some persons, who would otherwise have been as boisterous as ever, have been quieted by contracts; and opportunities have been afforded to others of speculating to advantage.'

This bold protest, while it shews the oppressed state of the country, affords a consoling proof, that the spirit of the nation was not altogether extinct.

In little more than a year, it was found, that 'the periodical election of chief magistrates was a source of dissension'—'that an hereditary government only could guarantee the undisturbed possession of all that was dear to the people of Holland'—and 'that France was essentially interested in the happiness of the Dutch people, the prosperity of the state and the stability of its institutions.' Accordingly, by a treaty made on the 24th of May, 1806, 'His Majesty, upon the formal request made by their High Mightinesses, that Prince Louis Napoleon be crowned hereditary King, &c. yields to their wishes, and authorizes Prince Louis to accept the crown of Holland.' On the 5th of June, the President of the deputation, in a formal speech, sues, in his country's name, for the happiness, 'of having its destiny forever closely united with that of the boundless and immortal empire of the greatest of monarchs.' Napoleon's reply is beyond measure insolent.—'I comply,' he says, 'with the prayer of their High Mightinesses. I proclaim Louis King of Holland. Reign, Prince, over this people. Their fathers acquired their independence only by the constant assistance of France. Afterwards, Holland became the ally of England; she was conquered; again

she was indebted to France for her existence. Let her then owe to you Kings, who shall protect her liberties, her laws, and her religion. *But never cease to be a Frenchman.*'* 'Cherish in your new subjects sentiments of union and of love for France.'

Thus charged and instructed, Louis entered upon his government, and poor Schimmelpenninck, complaining of dimness of sight, resigned his shadow of office. The monarch was received by his subjects in a manner, that promised him little joy in his future reign over them. 'No applause or approbation was expressed, or could be procured. The very lowest of the people refused the bribes, that were tendered to them. An attempt was made in vain to hire the turf-carriers at the Hague to take the horses from the new king's carriage, and draw him into the town. Out of a body of eight hundred men, each of whom was offered four ducats for his trouble, not one could be found to accept the wages of servility.' [Chad.]

Louis, however, seems to have been desirous of conciliating the good will of his people. Disregarding his brother's injunctions, he almost 'ceased to be a Frenchman.' He early declared his resolution, never to allow of the conscription, or abolition of the publick debt, in his dominions. To this resolution he adhered, and the consequence was his abdication in 1810. Soon after this, Holland was annexed to the French empire, received its governour, its prefects, its douaniers, and whatever other instruments belong to a military tyranny; and the conscription, and the continental system, were enforced in all their rigour. The revival of the Netherlands from this state of political degradation is the theme, which Mr. Van der Palm has attempted to celebrate in a work combining the graces of rhetorick with the truth of history. He compares his country, in her depression, to the human body reduced by the rapid wasting of disease, to a state of apparent death. The grave is ready to receive the outstretched lifeless form;—

'But one spark of life yet glows in concealment. On a sudden freed from obstruction by the restoring power of nature, it rekindles and burns afresh; a new warmth darts through the veins; the bloom returns to the countenance, and strength and activity

* 'Mais ne cessez jamais d'être Français.'

to the limbs ; in a few moments, all that was deathly has vanished, and the wasted victim of the grave appears to our astonished view in all the pride of youth, and health and beauty.'

The Russian campaign was the first step of Buonaparte in his declining course.

'The Conqueror of Europe,' says Van der Palm, 'returned to his capital a fugitive, hardly recognized at the gates of his own palace. Yet, though reduced in power, his pride was not humbled. His ambition found resources, where others found despair. Men started up at his command. In the fields of Lutzen and Bautzen his fortune seemed for the moment to revive. But he was weakened even by his victories ; and under the walls of Leipsic, the gigantick power of France was crushed, and the fate of her leader decided.'

The effects of this battle were great and instantaneous. Germany was at once enabled to resume her liberty, for not a French soldier was to be found on her side of the Rhine. It was not so in the Netherlands. Many and powerful reasons concurred to induce those, who looked impatiently for an opportunity to assert the freedom of that country, to defer awhile any open insurrection, and to wait a more favourable moment for the accomplishment of their hopes. The French functionaries still exercised the authority of their offices, and though not possessed of sufficient force to oppose a victorious army, yet they were strong enough to hold in subjection a powerless and subdued province. As the communication was still open, new supplies of men might easily be sent from France. All arms were carefully secured from the inhabitants in places, to which they had no means of access ; and all associations of families and kindred, from which dangerous combinations might be feared, were carefully suppressed. The people of Holland remembered the tragedies of Hamburgh, and they dreaded the repetition of them at Amsterdam, if, by a vigorous opposition, they should induce Davoust to join the French army in the Netherlands.

But, though for these and other reasons, the principal men in Holland were disposed to submit a little longer to oppression, they were not, in the mean time, idle. From the time of the publication of the celebrated 29th bulletin, all ranks of men in the Netherlands seem to have conceived the hope of emancipation.

'The diminished dread of French power began to appear in the refusal of young men, on whom the lot of conscription fell, to submit to this odious exaction. They resisted the force, that was employed to drag them from their homes, and even provoked the cruelty of their oppressors, that they might render the French tyranny more intolerable to their countrymen. Grave and considerate men, in the mean while, began to talk of what should be done, when the moment of deliverance should arrive, and to prepare the means of controlling the publick enthusiasm, and directing it to the wished-for result.'

They even settled the outlines of the constitution, which was afterwards adopted.

While they were thus busied in secret, and by slow and cautious steps, placing themselves in a situation to make the most of circumstances, the battle of Leipsic gave a new spring to their hopes, and seemed to require and to justify measures founded on the possibility of a speedy occasion to act. To secure an adequate co-operation, whenever they should think it expedient to give the signal for a rising, was the point of most importance. The plan adopted by the confederates for this purpose is too ingenious to be passed over without notice. It is related, not by Van der Palm, but in the accurate and authentick narrative of Chad.

Each individual selected from among his most tried friends four persons, to whom, without making them known to each other, he communicated the wishes of the confederates, and engaged them 'to be ready, whenever called upon by him, and implicitly to obey his commands.' Each of these, in the same manner, selected four others, who made a similar engagement. No one was made acquainted with any thing more than the final object of the plot, nor did any one know the name of any person engaged in it, besides his immediate selector. Every man was verbally instructed, in case of tumult, 'to repair immediately to the spot, mingle with the crowd, and there wait the orders of their chief.' Thus were four hundred persons associated in a common design, without any one's knowing, or being able to reveal, the name of more than one person concerned in the plot.

The alarm of the French functionaries, caused by the battle of Leipsic, hastened the crisis, which the confederates would have deferred. In November, 1813, the Russians, under Wintzingerode, had advanced to Bremen, the Prussians under Bulow to Munster, and a vanguard of Cossacks had

cleared East Friezland of the French. Although as yet Holland had been entered only by scattered parties, which were ordered to retreat at the first appearance of a regular force, yet great uneasiness existed among the French. The sudden passage of the Cossacks over the Issel at Campen, and their capture of Zwol, greatly increased that uneasiness. General Molitor, who commanded in chief in Holland and Utrecht, resolved to retire from Amsterdam, his head quarters, where he had sixteen hundred infantry, all effective men, besides cavalry and douaniers, and to concentrate his force in the city of Utrecht. Accordingly, on the 14th of November, in the evening, all the French troops left Amsterdam, and were transported in boats to Utrecht. The General followed in the night. The next morning, the inhabitants gave loose at once to their joy and their resentment, and a scene commenced, of which Mr. Van der Palm has given a lively description. We shall endeavour to translate it, though conscious that we come short of the animation of the original.

'In Amsterdam every thing lives by commerce. From the rich merchant, who counts his profits by thousands, to the half naked Jew, bending under the weight of his burthen, all receive from commerce either great wealth, abundance, competency or their daily support. It is a rich, and copious stream, choked sometimes and sometimes exhausted, but of which the branches, that are nearest the source, will often continue to flow, when the main channel has been long dried up. Napoleon pretended to make war on England for the liberty of commerce; and by that war commerce was shackled, deprived of its resources, and utterly destroyed. It was thus, that anciently, in hot distempers, the patient was repeatedly bled, till at the moment, when his cure was supposed to be complete, he died of mere exhaustion. Infatuated man! how empty his boast of superiour wisdom! Could the ridicule of mankind reach him in the island of his exile, it would be the only punishment, he can suffer on earth.

'Let the reader imagine the misery of thousands, once enjoying the necessaries and even the luxuries of life, now, after spending the last farthing of their little store, reduced to want and beggary; he will then have some conception of the effects of French oppression. Was there still, here and there, something to be gained, the accursed grasp of a douanier was ready to seize it. Seizures and confiscations were the carrion, on which these vultures fed. The most costly merchandize, in possessing which they might well have esteemed themselves happy, was burnt. Is it to be wondered at,

then, that this impoverished and suffering people, the moment they learned that the city was delivered from the French, were roused into action, and thronged together, and made the streets and canals ring with wild shouts, with tumultuous songs, and the reiterated cry, which they had so long been compelled to suppress, as a cry of rebellion? In a moment, the beloved orange appeared. All that could, adorned themselves with it. No resistance was made, for the agents of the police were afraid to leave their lurking places.

'Meanwhile, evening came, and every thing wore the semblance of rebellion. The populace, without a head, became frantick and ungovernable. Wherever French eagles or escutcheons were seen, they were torn down, and trampled under foot. But this was not enough to appease their rage. They required a *feu de joie* of liberty and of vengeance to be kindled; for with the rabble all is gained, the moment they are freed from restraint. They began, therefore, to burn the houses of the douaniers along the whole buitenkant, [street next to the water.] The flames, gleaming across the water, filled the inhabitants of the opposite shore with the most serious apprehensions for the fate of Amsterdam.

'At last, the militia assembled for the protection of the city. One of their leaders was Anthony Rheinhard Falck, upon whom the French had conferred the office of captain, little suspecting the use, he would make of it. He was the soul of every thing. Aided by his fellow officers, with Col. Van Brienen at their head, he performed the most important services in the progress of the revolution. The conduct of the militia upon this occasion shews the spirit of the country. They did not check the rising, nor interfere to prevent the burning of the French custom-houses, pretending that they were without ball-cartridges. But when the Dutch offices, or the ware-houses and manufactories, filled with the property of the government, were attacked, they knew how to enforce respect, and to prevent plundering and destruction. Thus they preserved whatever was of use to the country.

'The Governour (Le Brun) was alarmed, and sent for two of the most eminent lawyers, *Van Hall* and *Waalraven*, to consult with them as to what was best to be done. They advised him to depart without delay, and with this advice he was well inclined to comply. They contrived the means of his safe retreat, and the terrified old man asked of them no more. This, at least, may be said in his favour, that he never willingly aggravated the yoke of the Netherlands, and that he did all the good in his power. He retired on the 16th of November without insult or opposition, and was soon followed by the Prefect of Amsterdam, and the Director of Police.'

On the following day, the uproar continued with such increased violence, that the necessity of immediately organizing a temporary government became evident. This work could only be accomplished by the militia, then the sole guardians of the publick safety. Twenty four citizens, most distinguished for their rank and patriotism, without regard to religious or political distinctions, were assembled in the Senate House, and when seated, they were addressed by Capt. Falck, as follows ;—

'I need not describe to you the condition of our city. Abandoned by its French rulers (God grant they may never return !) all restraint of authority is taken away. The wild tumult out of doors, those flames which mount to the skies, declare, more forcibly than I can, the universal distress. As yet, the fury of the multitude may be restrained ; but soon it will become confident in its strength, and bid defiance to danger. Then the day, which should be the first of our happiness, will be but the beginning of new misery. Balls and bayonets may disperse the people—but let us keep our balls and bayonets for others, than our countrymen. Remember too, that to disperse is not to appease. It is by authority only they can be subdued, peace restored, and that blood spared, which ought to be so dear to us. As long as this people consents to be governed by the French, whom the curse of God pursues, so long will this confusion last. Nay, it will grow greater and more terrible, and every thing will become its prey. But once place a patriotick administration at the head of the city ; let those names be proclaimed, at which ancient authority and confidence will revive, Van der Hoop, Van Bortzelaur, Elias, and others ; these sounds alone will inspire respect, and open the way for happier times. Then hope will return, and with it tranquillity. Lawless rage will yield to gentler emotions, and thousands of hands, now threatening us with conflagration and ruin, will arm themselves in the cause of freedom. Accept then the government of Amsterdam. Do you ask by what authority we offer it to you ? We could offer it in the name of the French administration itself. Elias and Van Brienen can testify to this. But you would not, that it should flow from such a source. All that have property or honour to lose, call on you to protect them from violence. Your country, just starting from her ashes, calls on you to save her. You will not be deaf to that voice—you cannot.'

The new administration of Amsterdam thought proper to confine themselves to the maintenance of order, without as yet openly declaring independence of the French. 'This,' says Van der Palm, 'was reserved for the generous patriots of the Hague, whose sagacious forecast perceived the necessity of seizing the present moment for the speedy, decisive and complete restoration of the Netherlands.' They resolved on two things as absolutely necessary. 1. To proclaim the Prince of Orange as chief of the Netherlands. 2. To annihilate all distinctions of faction and party. At the head of these men were Van Hogendorf and Van Stirum. On the 17th November, the latter appeared in the streets of the Hague with the Orange badge, and proceeding to the house of Slicher, formerly burgo-master, proposed to him to assume the government of the city in conjunction with his former colleagues. The aged magistrate, though pleased with the boldness of the design, declined to comply, because he had entered into some engagement with the French for a convention to preserve the peace of the city. Van Stirum too was invited to take part in this convention, but he prudently refused, 'and thus contributed to defeat the last attempt of the French to retain their power in the city.' At the same time with Van Stirum, the sons of Van Hogendorf displayed their Orange ribbons in every part of the city. 'The effect was great and instantaneous. This favourite badge, almost in the same moment, appeared upon every breast and waved before every door and window. The whole population was in the street. The air rung with shouts, and the universal joy was demonstrated in every possible form. Even the prefect of the Hague, it is said, could hardly resist the emotion, and declaring his astonishment at what he saw, he speedily left the city.' The French military commander, Bouvier des Eclats, retired with his men and arms to Binnenhof.

Van Stirum, on returning to the house of Van Hogendorf, met there his associates, who unanimously requested him to assume the government of the Hague. His first act was to cause a proclamation to be read and posted in all parts of the city, in which he spoke of the coming of the Prince of Orange, as already decided, and threatened with severe punishment all, who should attempt to disturb the publick order.

To give to his administration the greater weight and authority, Van Stirum attempted to associate with him some of those, who had been in office before the French Revolution.

But two meetings called for this purpose were dissolved without success, these respectable individuals being unwilling, in the present situation of things, to take on themselves a trust of so much difficulty and danger. It is also probable, that their deliberations were in no small degree influenced by a letter of De Stassart, the late Prefect, which in the name of the Emperor, threatened with severest vengeance all who persisted in rebellion, and offered pardon and oblivion to all, who would immediately return to their obedience. But whatever might have been the cause, it is thought by Van der Palm to have been a fortunate event, as the existence of such an administration might have obstructed the immediate resumption of power by the Prince of Orange, on his return.

This refusal of the 'ancient regents' to take any share in the government was however for the time embarrassing to Van Stirum. It was resolved that Van Hogendorf should assume the government in conjunction with Van der Duisn Van Maasdam, in the name of the Prince of Orange, and that Van Stirum should be commander in chief of the army. On the 19th of November, Jacob Fagel and Henrick de Perpoucher, two gentlemen possessing the confidence of the Prince, were despatched to London to solicit his immediate return, and at the same time, lest he should not be in England, other messengers were sent to the head quarters of the allies, and to other places in Germany. About the same time Van der Hoeven was sent to represent to the allies the situation of things in Holland, and to urge their speedy advance.

Thus far had these patriots proceeded, as it usually happens on such occasions, rather driven on by the publick enthusiasm, and yielding to the necessity of the times, than coolly reflecting on the means of success, and measuring their forces with the greatness of their attempt. But an interval of awful suspense was to succeed. The whole force, which the confederates could command, was divided into two bodies, called armies. The army of Utrecht, commanded by General de Jonge, consisted of three hundred infantry, thirty two volunteer cavalry, and two eight pounders. That of Gorcum, commanded by Van Landas, was composed of two hundred and fifty of the Hague Orange guard, thirty Prussians, three hundred volunteers, forty volunteer cavalry, and two eight pounders. The French under Molitor, were in considerable force at Utrecht and Gorcum, and had they advanced upon the confederates in their unprepared state, without

ammunition, and almost without arms, and as yet hardly recovered from the amazement of so sudden a change, there is reason to believe, that, with whatever zeal the Dutch might have defended themselves, they would have been compelled again to acknowledge the master, from whom they had revolted. But fortunately the French were not aware of the weakness of their enemy. The detection of a spy in the city enabled the confederates, by keeping up the correspondence, to convey such impressions of their force, as they thought proper. The French were besides intimidated by the confidence, which seemed to inspire all ranks of the Dutch; and thus their military operations were confined to the recapture of Woerden, where they were accused of the most wanton cruelty towards the inhabitants.

The wind, every change of which the Dutch anxiously watched, continued for a long time adverse to their hopes. In the mean while the affair of Woerden spread a general consternation. They would perhaps have abandoned the cause in despair, had not some occurrences of a more pleasant nature enlivened this critical week. Amsterdam at last, on the 23d of November, declared for the Prince. At the same time a small party of Cossacks arrived at the gates of that city. Bulow consented to march to the assistance of the Hollanders, and at the solicitation of Van der Hoeven, Prince Narischkin and Benkendorf agreed to advance with their forces. General Molitor was thus obliged to quit Utrecht, and Amsterdam was relieved from the fear, which his neighbourhood had constantly kept alive. A letter was received by Van Hogendorf from the Prince, and immediately made publick, announcing the preparations of the English to afford them assistance, and his intention in a few days to embark for his native country. His passage however was retarded by contrary winds, and it was not till the 30th of November, that his arrival at Schoeveningen put an end to the general anxiety. He was received with hearty congratulations, and proceeded without delay to the Hague, where his arrival awakened the most enthusiastick joy. The day of his entrance into that city was signalized by the capture of Arnheim by Bulow. On the 2d of December the Prince entered Amsterdam, the ancient capital, where he was proclaimed Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands.

The outlines of the constitution, which was adopted on the 29th of March following, had been agreed upon as early as

the close of the year 1812, at meetings, privately had for this purpose by some of the principal inhabitants of the Hague. Its most remarkable feature is the change, introduced in the executive branch of the government. The name of republicans, hitherto so cherished by the Dutch, was voluntarily abandoned, and the style and authority of a limited monarch were, without his solicitation, conferred upon the Prince. Nor was the change merely in name. His powers, as Prince Sovereign, were much greater, than those, which were attached to the modest dignity of Stadt-holder. The main object seems to have been, to make the executive magistrate more independent of the States General, which, at the same time, by giving to the resident burghers a voice in the formation of the electoral colleges, the States, both General and Provincial, are rendered more popular in their origin. On the other hand, the deputies are no longer governed in their votes by the instructions of their constituents, and questions are decided by the majority of voices.

The act of the Vienna Congress has added still farther to the rank and powers of the House of Orange, and in forming the kingdom of the Netherlands has again comprehended under one government the provinces, which had been separated since the time of Philip. Besides these, the King of the Netherlands is also invested with the Duchy of Luxembourg, and thus his dominions extend over the whole of that tract of country, which has been the seat of more wars, and contains more fortified places than any other of the same size upon the globe. Thuanus, who says, that, when he wrote, the civil war had been raging in the Provinces of the Low Countries thirty three years, declares, 'that the country then contained 208 walled cities, 150 large towns, and 6300 parishes, within a circuit of 304 miles.' What would Louis XIV. have said, had he been told, at the time when he was contending with Holland and her allies, about the much disputed barrier, that this whole country should one day be united with the Seven Provinces, under the regal government of the House of Orange?

Not long after the annexation of the Belgick Provinces, the constitution was revised, and adapted to this new state of things, by Commissioners appointed by the King. The powers of the King were not much, if at all, increased. But by the division of the States General into houses, or chambers, one of them permanent, with a negative on the other, but without

the right of *originating* bills, a nearer resemblance was established to the mixed government of England. Many important rights and privileges are secured to the subject by the revised constitution. Among them are the liberty of the press, the right of petitioning, the inviolability of dwellings, the exemption of the person from arrests, and a general eligibility to office without distinction of birth or of religious belief.

We cannot conclude without recommending to our readers an attention, more minute than has commonly been given, to the history of the United Provinces. It is to be regretted, that we are without any English work, professing to treat distinctly and at large of their commerce, religion and literature. To an American their progress is interesting, not so much because of any correspondence between their history and our own, though that was thought sufficient to be the subject of frequent allusion in our revolutionary war;* as that they, like ourselves, are a commercial people, and by perseverance and enterprize, with natural advantages far inferiour to ours, have arrived to a high degree of wealth, and of commercial importance. Before their revolt from Spain, they were already possessed of an extensive trade. The province of Holland, alone, is said, by Guicciardin, to have had, at that time, above eight hundred ships of from two to seven hundred tons burthen, besides fishing vessels; and at Amsterdam, five hundred large ships, principally their own, were often seen lying together. We have before noticed the surprising rapidity with which, after their revolt, they extended their possessions and trade, wresting from the Portuguese their principal establishment in the East, and even pursuing them to the West, and disputing their power in Brazil. It has been much the fashion to ascribe all, that the Dutch have done, to the strong passion of gain, which is alleged to hold in their breasts the place of every other affection. It is only necessary to have read their history, to be convinced that this charge is unjust, and that they have qualities, both publick and private, which render them capable of acts of the most generous and elevated virtue.

Nor is there a better foundation for imputing to them, as has been often done, a tardiness of genius, suited indeed to slow and patient labour, but unfit for any of the finer exertions of intellect, and dead to the enchantments of the heart and fancy.

* See 'Annals of the troubles in the Netherlands, &c. A proper and seasonable mirror to the present Americans.' Published at Hartford, 1778.

They have produced historians, and poets, and criticks, and painters, of the first class, and these, not as the authors of the Universal History assert, 'like grapes in Siberia and contrary to the usual course of nature,' but in numbers, which, when considered in reference to the size and population of the country, are not exceeded by any other nation. A respectable periodical work has indeed pronounced of them, 'that the Muses seem ever to have chosen the Netherlands for their favourite retreat.'* And though this may be saying too much, we are persuaded that in the walks of genius and taste, their claims are far from inconsiderable. Their language, it is true, is harsh and dissonant. We are assured, however, by those, who understand all its varieties, that the work, we have been reviewing, is an eminent proof, how much a skilful writer may do, by attention in the choice and arrangement of his words, towards remedying this evil. Their native literature has, no doubt, greatly suffered from the habit, which their scholars have had, of writing in the Latin language, to the neglect of their own.

We could willingly enlarge upon these subjects; but we are afraid of having already passed our proper limits. We shall, therefore, leave for the present the literary pretensions of the Dutch, and close with quoting the encomium bestowed on them by their most distinguished countryman, to a part of which, at least, we hope this view of their history may have proved them to be entitled.

'Thus,' says De Witt in his *Interests of Holland*, 'are diligence, vigilance, valour and frugality, not only natural to the Hollanders themselves, but by the nature of their country, are communicated to all foreigners, who inhabit amongst them.'

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ART. VII. *Ferguson's Astronomy, explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles, with notes, and supplementary chapters. By David Brewster, LL. D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.* Philadelphia, A. Small, 1817. 2 vols. 8vo. with a 4to vol. of plates.

IT is now about seventy years since this work first appeared, and it has, we believe, received no material alteration

* Il semble que les Muses l'ont toujours choisi pour asile.' *Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans*, 1687.

since the edition of 1770, this being the last that was revised by the author. It has passed through ten editions in England and two in this country. It would be difficult to name a book on Astronomy that has had so extensive a circulation. Its chief merit is plainness and perspicuity. It requires little or no preparatory study, and seldom reminds the reader how many things there are already known, which he is not permitted to see, and how many yet remain to be discovered. The author indeed is strictly popular not only in his language and style, but in his choice of topicks, in his resources, and in the general character and furniture of his mind. He was a man of little intellectual cultivation, and no enlarged views of the subjects on which he wrote. He was principally distinguished for his mechanical ingenuity, by which he contrived to illustrate some of the leading phenomena of the planetary system. He made the best use of orreries and planetariums, which owe much of the little value they possess to his invention and skill. These artifices are very proper in the first stages of instruction, or where there are no other means of access to the mind of the learner. They are to the more refined methods what hieroglyphicks are to alphabetical writing. The facts which they teach, are accompanied with a thousand errours and gross conceptions. Wheels and pinions give but a poor idea of the simple, harmonious operations of gravity, that powerful all-pervading energy, by which the celestial fabrick is connected and sustained. A mechanical panorama may represent some of the more prominent features of a city or of a battle ; but there are other phenomena, which it does not exhibit, less obvious indeed, but of a deeper interest, on which these depend ; of which we have some traces in the works of the painter and statuary.

Ferguson professes to teach astronomy upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles, and one learns from him about as much of the Principia, as he learns of the Iliad by reading the arguments prefixed to the several books, or of a play of Shakspeare, by reading the story on which it is founded. He undertakes to teach a science, which owes all the refinement and perfection to which it has attained to mathematicks, without any considerable aid from this subsidiary branch of knowledge. It is principally owing to this circumstance, we think, that the book has been so long and so much used. The reader is gratified at being able to go through a work of such high pretensions, without meeting any thing that he does not under-

stand, and without suspecting, that he has not advanced far enough to discover where the difficulties are, or in what they consist.

We confess we were surprised at seeing another impression of this work, edited by Dr. Brewster. We thought we had made some advances, not only in the more abstruse and difficult parts of the science, but also in the methods of simplifying it, and rendering it intelligible and interesting to common readers. Are all the researches, the improvements, and the speculations of the last half century, by which this science has been extended and illustrated, so entirely lost to the world at large? Are these lights destined to remain forever in the horizon, to gild only here and there a summit, which lifts itself above the general level?

It is time to present Astronomy, not only to the senses and the memory, but to the understanding and imagination, to exhibit it not merely as a collection of facts, phenomena, and tables, but as a delineation of the progress of the human mind. It is no longer to be regarded as the science of almanack making merely, as furnishing rules to the mariner, the geographer, and chronologist, but as a history of human efforts. speculations and inventions.

In the phenomena of the heavens we see a great problem held up as a sort of challenge to every nation of every age. It has called forth the greatest talents. It is the subject, on which the understanding has been exercised with the most brilliant success, and in which we trace the development and perfection of some of its noblest powers. It affords a scale on which we compare the genius, the skill, and the attainments of different nations and of different periods; and what is not the smallest recommendation to Europeans and the descendants of Europeans, it furnishes the most indubitable proofs of our intellectual superiority over all other people who have cultivated this science.

The philosophers of ancient times applied themselves to the study of the heavens, with the most laudable zeal and perseverance. We trace some of their earliest and rudest efforts, and their fantastical taste, in the constellations, the oldest monuments of human ingenuity, monuments which have remained undisturbed by the revolution of states, and untarnished by time.

We delight to look down upon the Newtons and Herschels of former times, struggling with difficulties, which no longer

exist, and feeling their way as it were in the dark, among objects, which to us appear in broad day light.

The ancient astronomers, however, made some important discoveries; they advanced several steps toward disentangling this mighty maze. But they left the work incomplete; nay more, they committed some great mistakes, and came finally to a conclusion, that was radically false.

Soon after the introduction of Astronomy into Europe, it assumed a new form. In the course of one or two centuries, it is enriched with more discoveries than all that had been made before. The heavens become quite another spectacle, not only to the understanding, but to the senses. New worlds burst upon the sight, and old ones expand to a thousand times their former dimensions; those little stars that twinkle over our heads, become immense globes, with land and water, mountains and vallies, encompassed by atmospheres, enlightened by moons, and diversified by day and night and summer and winter. Beyond these are other suns, giving light and life to other systems, not a thousand or two thousand merely, but more than can be numbered; the imagination is bewildered and lost in the attempt to explore and fathom them. All space seems to be illuminated, and every particle of light a world. When we look for our sun, with its attendant planets, amid those regions of brightness, it is scarcely to be discerned. Its extinction would make no perceptible void. How small then this little speck, the earth, and how much smaller we who inhabit it. But we are more than consoled for this insignificance of our corporeal extension, by the enlargement, and elevation and dignity of the sphere of the mind.

Not only have modern discoveries extended our view of the heavens. They have unfolded the order and relation of the several parts to each; instead of making the earth the central and most important part of the system, we have given this place to the sun, which is to the earth as a mountain to a pebble, and restored the earth to the class of planets, to which it is so nearly allied by its opacity, its form, its annual and diurnal motions. We have also annihilated all that cumbrous and complicated machinery, which the ancients supposed necessary to support the planets and to carry them round in their orbits. These bodies are now upheld without any scaffolding of our contriving; they are borne along self-supported, without noise, without interference, and without errour, and all this by

a power the most familiar to every one, and according to a law the most simple and the most perfectly adapted to the order and perpetuity of the whole system.

In the mean time the Eastern nations have been engaged by methods and instruments of their own invention in solving this same problem. Indeed they had made considerable progress in it long before it was thought of in Europe. Their tables refer to an epoch more than three thousand years before the christian era, and it is thought by some, who are competent judges, that they had a highly improved astronomy at this early period. We have but lately learned, that what we give Copernicus and Kepler and others the credit of discovering was well known before to our brethren of the East, and we owe the very knowledge of these facts to our attainments in astronomy, and the consequent improvement of navigation and the extension of commerce. We had been admiring the same phenomena, had been perplexed with the same difficulties, our eyes had been directed to the same stars, and our thoughts to the same contemplations and the same results, without any communication with each other. We now welcome them with the more cordiality on account of our common labours, and we learn with pride that though younger scholars in the same school, we have far outstripped them. Our researches have gone more deeply and thoroughly into the subject. Our knowledge is in every respect more precise and more extensive. We have not transported ourselves to the other planets, but we have, as it were, brought the other planets to us; we have been able to view them as we view a distant mountain, or a balloon in our atmosphere. By the invention of the telescope we have acquired a power that is like a new sense,—a sense, by which space is annihilated and remote invisible bodies are brought before us and subjected to our inspection. We claim also a high distinction on account of our instruments for measuring time and determining with exactness the positions of the heavenly bodies. But our greatest boast is the invention of the calculus, and the application of it to the mechanical phenomena of the heavens.

This not only brings before us the geometrical forms and dimensions and phases and inequalities of surface of the heavenly bodies, but it reveals the secret cause of their motions; it unlocks this grand orrery, and exposes all the curious and wonderful mechanism, by which the parts are connected and

propelled, the trains of wheels, the arbors, the flies and checks, by which motion is communicated, and apparent irregularities produced and controlled; it lays open to the naked view the coils of that spring, by which the operations of this vast machine are maintained, a spring whose power knows no relaxation, or intermission, or limit. Nay, it does more; it informs us not only of the present state of things around us, but of what has been, and what is to be. It enables us, as it were, to turn this machine ourselves, to bring back the ages that are past, and to roll on those that are to come, to trace the accumulated effect of causes through thousands of years, and which require many thousand of years for their full development, and of causes, too, whose influence makes a part of our physical condition, and is felt at our firesides. It is, in short, to time what the telescope is to space. It transports us into the immensity of duration, and we look back upon the few moments marked by the history of man, as we look down from the stars upon the little scene of his habitation.

We have spoken of the character of Ferguson's work, considered as a popular treatise. We allow that it contains a good deal of instruction, and in a style that is adapted to a certain class of readers. But since astronomy, from being an art, has has come to be an accomplishment, an important part of our intellectual discipline, we require and ought to have a very different kind of a book. Much improvement, we are confident, might be made in point of perspicuity by more attention to arrangement and method. The subject would admit of a style less repulsive to persons of cultivated minds and polite reading, than that of the greater part of our scientifick treatises. Much yet remains, we think, to be effected in this department of literary labour.

We do not expect to see the elaborate researches of our great astronomers by any magick of words brought within the reach of common readers. If we were to be visited by an inhabitant of another planet, we should probably be able to hold no communications with him except by very slow degrees, as we learn to communicate with the deaf and dumb. So it is with a person, who makes great discoveries of an intellectual nature in this. To possess ourselves of them we must discover them ourselves. We may derive aid and facilities from those, who have gone before us. But no interpretation is to be looked for, which will save us the labour of thinking.

The ascent must be made and the summit gained; the prospect cannot be brought down. The way, however, may be smoothed and adorned, and rendered shorter and more agreeable by society. It would require a second Newton to disclose to the world, what he and a few others have unfolded only to their own minds.

But the good understanding and fellowship, which now so happily unite all classes of men of letters, like intercourse between individuals of different nations, of different languages and modes of thinking, will tend to assimilate them to each other, and to render the treasures of each common to the rest. Knowledge and taste will be more frequently united and more widely diffused. The lapse of a few centuries has changed the face of society, and given it the aspect of intelligence, activity, and cheerfulness. Literature is becoming the business of the world; a certain portion of it, like a certain style of dress, has come to be reckoned among the necessaries of life, and this portion is every day becoming greater and greater. The man of fortune and rank, the fine gentleman and the fine lady, and the man of business, are each obliged, whether he will or not, to pay his tribute to custom. We are under a conscription, that allows no substitute, but requires the personal active service of a considerable proportion of the community. Every body is beginning to read, to invent, to make experiments and speculate. The race is thronged, and every day adds new competitors. What will be the ultimate fruits of all this, it is idle to conjecture. 'It were unwise to be sanguine, and unphilosophical to despair.' What may be done, we can best judge, by what has already been accomplished. The Alps have been passed by an army incumbered with the heavy implements of war. Who knows but that the heights of science may be scaled by the multitude, who now survey them at a distance, and that a highway may be opened for the curious but less hardy traveller.

It remains to give some account of the additions to the work before us by the Editor. They are intended to supply the defects of the author, by bringing up the history of Astronomy to the present time. They consist principally of a mere description of the optical discoveries of the last half century, and of the theories that have been proposed respecting them. These discoveries relate to the five new planets, the spots on the sun, the inequalities, atmosphere and other phenomena of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, and Mars, and the immense tracts

brought to light and explored in the region of the fixed stars. Some very general account also is given of the aberration of the heavenly bodies, the nutation of the earth's axis, the precession of the equinoxes and variation of the obliquity of the ecliptick. These are many of them compiled anew from original papers in English, French and German, and in general, so far as we can judge, from those, which are the most recent and of the best authority, but with very little labour on the part of the compiler. The information that is given is for the most part in a crude state. The business of condensing and elaborating it, remains to be performed by the reader. We have long details of observations from Dr. Herschel and Schroeter, copied out at full length, that are of very little value to the general student. More than a fourth part of these additions consists of mere tables of the observer's minutes, the substance of which might have been contained in a few pages, but which not one reader in a hundred would ever think of sifting for himself. These are of use only to the astronomer, and ought to be confined to books of reference. They were proper enough in the Encyclopedia, edited by Dr. Brewster, from which these supplementary chapters are principally taken.

As much of the information, which Dr. Brewster has here collected, is not to be found in the common works on Astronomy, we shall subjoin a number of extracts, both on account of the novelty of the matter, and as a specimen of what the book contains.

The following are Dr. Brewster's introductory remarks, and general view of the progress of Astronomy, since the time of Mr. Ferguson.

'The great additions which astronomy has lately received, have given a new form to this interesting science, and extended our knowledge far beyond the limits of the system which we inhabit. The discovery of five primary, and eight secondary planets;—the determination of the motion of our system in free space;—the reference of all the celestial phenomena, and particularly of the inequalities arising from the mutual action of the planets, to the simple law of gravitation; and the consequent improvement of our astronomical tables, form a lasting monument to the industry and genius of their authors; and mark the close of the first, and the commencement of the present century, as the most brilliant period in the history of astronomy.

For several of these important discoveries, we are indebted to

the powerful telescopes of Dr. Herschel, which detected two of the satellites of Saturn, and all the satellites of the Georgium Sidus.* The success of this celebrated astronomer gave birth to a spirit of observation and inquiry, which was before unknown. The heavens have been explored with the most unwearied assiduity, and this laudable zeal for the advancement of astronomy has been crowned with the discovery of *four* new planets.

These additions to the science do not merely present us with a few insulated facts similar to those with which we were formerly acquainted. They exhibit to us *new and unexpected phenomena, which destroy that harmony in the solar system which appeared in the magnitudes and distances of the planets, and in the form and position of their orbits.* The six planets which formerly composed the system, were placed at somewhat regular distances from the sun. They moved from west to east, and at such intervals as to prevent any extraordinary derangements which might arise from their mutual action. Their magnitudes, too, with the exception of Saturn [and Mars,] increased with their distance from the centre of the system, and the excentricity, as well as the inclination of their orbits, was comparatively small. In the present system, however, we find four very small planets between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, placed at nearly the same distance from the sun, and moving in *very excentric orbits* which intersect each other, and are greatly inclined to the plane of the ecliptick. The satellites of the Georgium Sidus, too, move nearly at right angles to the plane of his orbit; and what is still more surprising, the direction of their motion is opposite to that in which all the other planets, whether primary or secondary, circulate round their respective centres.' pp. 121, 122.

Dr. Brewster resumes the subject of the new planets in a subsequent chapter, and states a conjecture of Dr. Olbers respecting them, as the foundation of an hypothesis of his own, relative to the origin of meteorick stones.

'The existence of four planets between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, revolving round the sun, at nearly the same distances, and differing from all the other planets in their diminutive size, and in the form and position of their orbits, is one of the most singular phenomena in the history of astronomy. The incompatibility of these phenomena with the regularity of the planetary distances, and with the general harmony of the system, naturally suggests the opinion, that the inequalities in this part of

* This planet with us is generally called Herschel, in the Nautical Almanack the Georgian, on the continent of Europe, Uranus. R.

the system were produced by some great convulsion, and that the four planets are the fragments of a large celestial body which once existed between Mars and Jupiter. If we suppose these bodies to be independent planets, as they must be, if they did not originally form one, their diminutive size, *the great eccentricity* and inclination of their orbits, and their numerous intersections, when projected on the plane of the ecliptic, are *phenomena absolutely inexplicable on every principle of science, and completely subversive of that harmony and order which, before the discovery of these bodies pervaded the planetary system.* But if we admit the hypothesis that these planets are the remains of a larger body, which circulated round the Sun, nearly in the orbit of the greatest fragment, the system *resumes to order*, and we discover a regular progression in the distances of the planets, and a general harmony in the form and position of their orbits. To a mind capable of feeling the force of analogy, this argument must have no small degree of weight, and might be reckoned *a sufficient foundation for a philosophical theory.* We are fortunately, however, not left to the guidance merely of analogical reasoning. The elements of the new planets furnish us with several direct arguments, drawn from the *eccentricity* and inclination of their orbits, and from the position of their perihelion and nodes, and all concurring to shew that the four new planets have diverged from one point of space, and have, therefore, been originally combined in a larger body.

'To those who are acquainted with physical astronomy, it is needless to state the difficulty of ascertaining the paths of four bodies, whose masses are known, and which have diverged from one common node, with velocities given, in quantity and direction. This problem is much more perplexing than the celebrated problem of three bodies, and is therefore beyond the grasp of the most refined analysis. It is not difficult, however, to ascertain, in general, the consequences that would arise from the bursting of a planet, and to determine within certain limits the form and position of the orbits, in which the larger fragments would revolve round the Sun.

'When the planet is burst in pieces by some internal force capable of overcoming the mutual attraction of the fragments, it is obvious that the larger fragment will receive the least impetus from the explosive force, and will, therefore, circulate in an orbit deviating less than any other of the fragments from the original path of the large planet; while the *lesser* fragments, being thrown off with greater velocity, will revolve in orbits more eccentric, and more inclined to the ecliptic. Now, the eccentricity of Ceres and Vesta is nearly one-twelfth of their mean distance, *that of*

*Ceres being rather the greatest* [smallest]; and the eccentricity of Pallas and Juno is one-fourth of their mean distance, *the eccentricity of Pallas being a little greater* [smaller] *than that of Juno.* We should therefore expect, from the theory, that Pallas and Juno would be considerably smaller than Ceres and Vesta, and that Ceres should be the larger fragment, and should have an orbit more analogous in eccentricity and inclination than that of any of the smaller fragments to the other planets of the system. In so far as the diameters of the new planets have been measured, *the theory is most strikingly confirmed by observation.* According to Dr. Herschel, the diameter of Ceres is 163 miles, while that of Pallas is only 80. The observations of Schroeter make Juno *considerably less than Ceres;* and though the diameter of Vesta has not been accurately ascertained, yet the intensity of its light, and the circumstance of its being distinctly visible to the naked eye, are strong proofs that it exceeds in magnitude both Pallas and Juno. The striking resemblance between the two *lesser* fragments, Pallas and Juno, in their magnitudes, and in the *extreme eccentricity of their orbits*, would lead us to anticipate similar resemblances in the position of their nodes, in the place of their perihelia, and in the inclination of their orbits; while the elements of Ceres and Vesta should exhibit similar coincidences. Now, the inclination of Ceres is 10°, and that of Vesta 7°; while the inclination of Juno is 21° [13°], and that of Pallas 34°; the two greater fragments having nearly the same inclination, and keeping near the ecliptic, while the *lesser* fragments diverge from the original path, and rise to a great height above the ecliptic, and far above the orbits of all the other planets in the system.

'In the position of the nodes, we perceive the same coincidence. The orbits of Pallas and Juno cut the ecliptic in the same point, and the nodes of Ceres and Vesta *are not far distant.*

'If all the fragments of the original planet had, after the explosion, been attracted to the larger fragment, it is obvious that they would all move in the same orbit, and consequently have the same perihelion. If the fragments received a slight degree of divergency from the explosive force, and moved in separate orbits, the points of their perihelion would not coincide, and their separation would increase with the divergency of the fragments. But, since all the fragments partook of the motion of the primitive planet, the angle of divergency could never be very great; and therefore we should expect that all the perihelia of the new planets would be in the same quarter of the heavens. *This theoretical deduction is most wonderfully confirmed by observation.* ——— All the perihelia are in the same semicircle, and all the aphelia in the opposite semicircle; the perihelia of the two larger fragments, Ceres and Vesta,

being near each other [76° distant], as might have been expected, while there is the same proximity [60°] between the perihelia of the *lesser* fragments, Pallas and Juno.

'These singular resemblances in the motions of the greater fragments, and in those of the *lesser* fragments, and the striking coincidences between theory and observation in the eccentricity of their orbits, in their inclination to the ecliptic, in the position of their nodes, and in the places of their perihelia, are phenomena which could not possibly result from chance, and which concur to prove, with an *evidence amounting almost to demonstration*, that the four new planets have diverged from one common node, and have therefore composed a single planet.

'Let us now proceed to consider the other phenomena which might be supposed to accompany this great convulsion. When the cohesion of the planet was overcome by the action of the explosive force, a number of little fragments, detached along with the greater masses, would, on account of their smallness, be projected with very great velocity; and being thrown beyond the attraction of the larger fragments, might fall towards the Earth when Mars happened to be in the remote part of his orbit. The central parts of the orignal planet being kept in a state of high compression by the superincumbent weight, and this compressing force being removed by the destruction of the body, a number of *lesser* fragments might be detached from the larger masses, by a force similar to the first. These fragments will evidently be thrown off with the greatest velocity, and will always be separated from those parts which formed the central portions of the primitive planet. The detached fragments, therefore, which are projected beyond the attraction of the larger masses, must always have been torn from the central parts of the original body; and it is capable of demonstration, that the superficial or stratified parts of the planet could never be projected from the fragments which they accompany.

'When the portions which are thus detached arrive within the sphere of the Earth's attraction, they may revolve round that body at different distances, and may fall upon its surface, in consequence of a diminution of their centrifugal force; or, being struck by the electric fluid, they may be precipitated on the Earth, and exhibit all those phenomena which usually accompany the descent of meteoric stones. Hence we perceive the reason why the fall of these bodies is sometimes attended with explosions, and sometimes not; and why they generally fall obliquely, and sometimes horizontally, a direction which they never could assume, if they descended from a state of rest in the atmosphere, or had been projected from volcanoes on the the surface of the Earth.' pp. 488—494.

We quote this, not because we consider the hypothesis here advanced as at all probable, but as an instance of the looseness, inaccuracy, and extravagance of Dr. Brewster's statements and reasonings. This whole argument is obviously built upon the supposition of a known and very marked difference in the magnitudes of Ceres and Vesta, compared with those of Pallas and Juno, by which the eccentricity of the orbits of the latter, and their deviation from the plane of the ecliptick are to be explained. The lighter bodies it is presumed would suffer the greater aberration. The similarity also of the orbits of the first two, and of the last two, is supposed to arise respectively from a similarity in their masses or quantities of matter. But the diamters of Ceres and Vesta, as given by Dr. Brewster, are 1024 and 238 miles respectively, and those of Pallas and Juno, 2099 and 1425.*

Now these are far from corresponding with the known elements of the orbits. The observations of Schroëter, as given by Delambre, for three of these planets, considered as reduced to the mean distance of the earth from the sun, are for Ceres 3·482″, for Pallas 4·504″, and for Juno 3·057″. At this time Vesta was not known. Its apparent diameter has since been estimated at 0·488″ by Schroëter. According to these observations, and they are those which Dr. Brewster professes to use, the smallest of the four are Juno and Vesta, of which the latter is not one sixth part of the former, and not one eighth of the larger of the other two. Yet Dr. Brewster speaks all along of Ceres and Vesta, as the two largest, and Pallas and Juno as the smallest; and grounds the whole of his speculation upon this assumption. 'The striking resemblance,' says he, 'between the two smaller fragments, Pallas and Juno, in their magnitudes,' &c. Again he says, 'It is *obvious*, that the larger fragments will receive the least impetus from the explosive force, and will therefore circulate in an orbit deviating less than any of the other fragments, from the original path of the large planet, while the smaller fragments, being thrown off with greater velocity, will revolve in orbits more eccentrick and more inclined to the ecliptick.'

This mode of reasoning, if it could be regarded as sound, taken in connexion with the actual magnitudes of these planets, would overthrow the hypothesis, as will be evident by

* Dr. Herschel's estimates for Ceres and Pallas, are 163 and 80.

looking for a moment at Dr. Brewster's own account of the elements of their orbits. But, in the first place, it should be recollected, that the observations of the apparent diameters, from which the supposed magnitudes are deduced, cannot be considered, as by any means certain. These little bodies appear like mere points, even with good telescopes; and to undertake to compare their magnitudes, is like undertaking to compare the spider's most attenuated threads. Vesta may be seen by the naked eye; and yet, Dr. Herschel says, he could not perceive the real disc with a power of 636. Besides, we believe, that this supposition, with regard to the origin of the small planets, is considered as attended with insurmountable difficulties.—Lagrange, indeed, favoured the suggestion so far as to calculate the velocity required to project these bodies, and he found it about twenty times that of a cannon ball. Laplace takes no notice of it in the last edition of his System of the World, in which he gives some account of these new planets. Biot says, that, 'the theory of attraction shows this hypothesis to be inadmissible, because the same explosive force would give to the different fragments, proceeding from the same point, unequal projectile velocities; from these velocities there would result an inequality in the longer axes of their orbits, which is contrary to observation.'*

Lastly, we have to complain of Dr. Brewster, for representing these new planets as so very anomalous and subversive of the order and harmony, that before existed in the solar system. He frequently speaks of their eccentricities, as particularly remarkable, and a circumstance by which they are distinguished from the old planets. How he could fall into such a mistake, it is difficult to conceive; for, according to his own table, that of two of them is about one fourth of the mean distance, and that of each of the other about one twelfth, while the eccentricity of Mercury is one fifth, and that of Mars about one eleventh. Two of the new planets, therefore, have orbits less elliptical than those of Mercury and Mars, and very much less than that of the former; and the orbits of the other two exceed that of Mercury in this respect only, by the difference between one fourth and one fifth. The new planets, therefore, are clearly not distinguished as a class by this circumstance.

* The semitransverse axes of their orbits are for Ceres 2·767406, Pallas 2·767592, Juno 2·667163, Vesta 2·373000, that of the earth being 1.

The *inclination* of their orbits is a more distinctive feature. They each depart farther from the ecliptick, than any of the old planets, but this excess with respect to one of them, Vesta, amounts only to a small part of a degree, and in no instance is it so great, as exists between Mercury and most of the other old planets; so that if a line is to be drawn with reference solely to this element, it ought to be drawn so as to include Mercury and perhaps Venus—almost any where, rather than between Mercury and Vesta.

The *magnitude* of the new planets has been considered as the most remarkable feature about them; but if we may rely on our estimates, they bear a greater proportion to the smaller planets before known, than these do to Jupiter and Saturn.—Ceres, Pallas, and Juno according to the best observations are in point of bulk about one seventh of that of Mercury: whereas Mercury is only one twentieth of that of the earth, and the earth, only one twelve hundredth of that of Jupiter. If the planets are to be divided into two classes on account of their difference of magnitude, the line is sufficiently well marked. The first would comprehend only Jupiter, Saturn, and Herschel, and we should be obliged to form three or four classes in order fairly to exclude these unfortunate strangers from our society, and put them by themselves.

We think, therefore, since the points we have stated have been regarded, as the most essential, that we may consider the question as settled, and conclude, that there is nothing to be apprehended from this accession to the number of planets, either as to our own dignity or the order and harmony of the system. We think moreover, that it is not very consistent in Dr. Brewster to undertake to vindicate the order and harmony of the system, by supposing, that that order and harmony no longer exist; that the constitution of this system was such, that a large and beautiful planet, after pursuing its course regularly and quietly, with a proper obliquity and eccentricity for many ages, all at once burst like a bomb shell, and spread around its powder and dust for many millions of miles; and that, instead of it, we have now, and are to have henceforth, these miserable little fragments driven at random through the celestial spaces without any regard to analogy or fitness. When, or by what power this explosion took place, or what became of the inhabitants, does not appear. If any of them should happen to accompany portions of their *natale solum* to our earth we should probably learn something more.

Dr. Brewster recurs in another place to this hypothesis to explain a circumstance, which we have not noticed, namely, that two of the new planets have very extensive atmospheres, while the other two have apparently none. He admits, that this is a difficulty not easily accounted for upon the supposition that they were once united. He takes occasion, therefore, from a comet passing somewhere near the region of the paths of these bodies, about the year 1770, to furnish the extra quantities of this fluid. This reminds us of the romantick days of Whiston.

For our own parts, we are perfectly ready to receive these celestial guests, and as many more as may present themselves, as *bona fide* planets and intitled to all the consideration and respect, which we pay to our older associates, and so far from marring the beauty and order of this association, to which we belong, we think that they add to it by adding to its variety. It was once thought that the planets could not exceed seven in number, either because there are seven stars in a remarkable cluster, or because there are seven musical divisions in the octave, or for some other reason about as good. The discovery of the planet Hershel produced almost as great a derangement as that of the smaller planets. It was another exception to the gradation of magnitude following the increase of distance. It was an interruption to the law of specifick gravities decreasing with the distances. Its satellites were found, in violation of all analogy, to have their orbits nearly perpendicular to the ecliptick, and what was still worse, they performed their motions contrary to the order of the signs. We begin to be reconciled to these apparent anomalies, and future discoveries may erect them into rules. All this proceeds from our notions of what is orderly, harmonious and fit, being derived from our limited knowledge, from a little narrow system in our own minds, which every new discovery requires to be altered and re-adjusted, or to be taken entirely to pieces and made over again; and it is not the least of the advantages of the study of Astronomy, that in so many instances it exposes our partial views and lurking prejudices. The discipline has an influence beyond the sphere in which it is received. We bring a more liberal mind to other inquiries.

There is another speculation, in which Dr. Brewster maintains that the sun is not inhabited, as some have been led to suppose from the observations of Dr. Herschel, which indicate an atmosphere and strata of dark and luminous clouds elevat-

ed far above his surface. One of the reasons, which he gives, is, that the inhabitants would be precluded from the study of Astronomy; and another is, that the sun is an exception to the law of specifick gravities, forgetting, that these specifick gravities have been certainly determined only with respect to those planets that have satellites. We are not disposed to enter into a discussion of this question, believing, as we do, that we have not the materials for forming any satisfactory conclusion on the subject.

We shall give a few extracts as specimens of Dr. Brewster's manner, when his aim is merely to instruct. His style forms a striking contrast to that of Mr. Ferguson.

'It appears, that the lunar surface is not only diversified with rocks and cavities, but that some parts of it are distinguished from others by their superiour illumination. The dark parts of the Moon's disc are always smooth, and apparently level; while the luminous portions are elevated tracts, which either rise into high mountains, or sink into deep and extensive cavities. The general smoothness of the obscure regions naturally induced astronomers to believe that they were immense collections of water. The names given by Hevelius are founded on this opinion; and notwithstanding the discoveries which have been made on the surface of the Moon, it is still very generally maintained among modern astronomers. When we examine the Moon's disc, however, with minute attention, we find that these obscure portions are not exactly level like a fluid surface. In many of them the inequality of surface and of light is considerable; and in some parts, parallel ridges are distinctly visible. The large dark spot on the Moon's western limb, which is called the Crisian Sea, appears in general to be extremely level; but we have frequently observed, when the Moon was a little past her opposition, and when the boundary of light and darkness passed through the Crisian Sea, that this bounding line, instead of being elliptical, as it would have been had the surface been fluid, was irregular, and evidently indicated that this portion of the Moon's disc was actually elevated in the middle. The light of these obscure regions, likewise, varies very much, according to the angle of illumination. or the altitude of the Sun above their horizon; and when the Moon is near her conjunction, they are not much less luminous than the other parts of her disc. Now this could never happen if they were covered with water; for when a fluid surface is not ruffled by the wind, the light of the Sun, or rather the image of the Sun could not be seen, unless when the eye of the observer was in the line of the reflected rays.

It would appear, therefore, from these facts, that there is no water in the moon, neither rivers, nor lakes, nor seas, and hence we are entitled to infer, that none of those atmostpherical phenomena, which arise from the existence of water in our own globe, will take place in the lunar world.

'The strata of mountains, and the insulated hills which mark the disc of this luminary have evidently no analogy with those in our own globe. Her mountainous scenery, however, bears a stronger resemblance to the towering sublimity, and the terrific ruggedness of Alpine regions, than to the tamer inequalities of less elevated countries. Huge massess of rock rise at once from the plains, and raise their peaked summits to an immense height in the air, while projecting crags spring from their rugged flanks and threatening the valleys below, seem to bid defiance to the laws of gravitation. Around the base of these frightful eminences are strewed numerous loose and unconnected fragments, which time seems to have detached from their parent mass; and when we examine the rents and ravines which accompany the over-hanging cliffs, we expect every moment that they are to be torn from their base, and that the process of destructive separation which we had only contemplated in its effects, is about to be exhibited before us in tremendous reality. The strata of lunar mountains called the Appennines, which traverse a portion of her disc from north-east to south-west, rise with a precipitous and craggy front from the level of the Mare Imbrium. In some places their perpendicular elevation is above four miles; and though they often descend to a much lower level, they present an inaccessible barrier to the north-east, while on the south-west, they sink in gentle declivity to the plains.

'The analogy between the surface of the Earth and Moon fails in a still more remarkable degree, when we examine the circular cavities which appear in every part of her disc. Some of these immense caverns are nearly four miles deep and forty miles in diameter. A high annular ridge, marked with lofty peaks and little cavities, generally encircles them; an insulated mountain frequently rises in their centre, and sometimes they contain smaller cavities of the same nature with themselves. These hollows are most numerous in the south-west part of the Moon; and it is from this cause that that portion of this luminary is more brilliant than any other part of her disc. The mountainous ridges, which encircle the cavities, reflect the greatest quantity of light; and from their lying in every possible direction, they appear near the time of full Moon like a number of brilliant radiations, issuing from the large spot, called Tycho.

'It is difficult to explain, with any degree of probability, the formation of these immense cavities; but we cannot help thinking,

that our Earth would assume the same figure, if all the seas and lakes were removed ; and it is therefore probable, that the lunar cavities are either intended for the reception of water, or that they are the beds of lakes and seas which have formerly existed in that luminary. The circumstance of there being no water in the Moon is a strong confirmation of this theory.'

Dr. Brewster closes his supplement with a table, containing the elements of the orbits of the planets and several other particulars. In this, we are surprised to find, that he has not availed himself of the later corrections and improvements.—We have, for instance, the longitude of the nodes for the year 1750, the inclination of the orbits, without the variation, for 1780, and the place of the aphelia for 1801, printed 1800; whereas the practice has been for some time to refer all these to the beginning of the present century, and to give the place of the perihelia instead of that of the aphelia for the sake of preserving a uniformity in this respect between the planets and comets. The secular variations of the nodes and aphelia are given not according to the latest corrections, and the reader is left to find out as he can when they are additive, and when subtractive, and whether they are absolute, or whether they are to be referred to the equinox. The eccentricities are in parts of the earth's mean distance considered as 100000, instead of being expressed in parts of the semi-major axes respectively. There are morever some important mistakes, besides such as are evidently typographical. The Moon's mass is stated to be 0·025, instead 0·0146, and that of Mars at 0·0875 instead of 0·1294, the earth's being considered as 1. On the whole, this table, which is a sort of an abtract of the author's view of the subject, when compared with similar ones given by Laplace, Biot, Delambre, or by Mr. Woodhouse, will be found to be more or less incorrect in a greater part of the articles contained in it.

We have adverted to what we conceive the most exceptionable parts of the editor's labours. In others, he has given abundant proof of learning and extensive research ; and the matter, which he has collected, appears to us, for the most, to be well arranged. His style is perspicuous, and animated, and more highly wrought than we generally meet in productions of this nature. He is sometimes, however, a little too lofty, and too ambitious of rhetorical ornament.

We have confined ourselves principally in the remarks we have offered, to the faults and defects of this work, in the hope that some exertions may be made towards procuring one more respectable, and more worthy of the nature and present state of the science. Were we already supplied with such a treatise, adapted to the higher class of readers, we should not regret the republication of this, as it may be useful in academies and schools, and to a large description of persons whose education and pursuits do not lead them to inquiries of a more refined and difficult character.

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ART. VIII. *Inaugural Address, delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, November* 5, 1817. *By Levi Frisbie, A. M. Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity in Harvard University.* University Press, Hilliard & Metcalf, 1817.

WE in this country have great reason to congratulate ourselves upon the rapid improvement, which has taken place within a few years in the state of our literature. Without doubt, there is not in any nation, so large a proportion of readers of some degree of cultivation and refinement. One of the most striking evidences of our literary improvement is to be found in the character of many of our popular addresses, which indicate at once the talents of the speaker, and the estimate which he has formed of the information, good taste, and good sense of those whom he is addressing. Of these it would be impossible to select a more favourable specimen, than the discourse now under review, which, though pronounced before the University in Cambridge, upon the occasion of the author's inauguration as Professor,* may yet be regarded as a *popular address*, when we consider the numerous audience which attends upon such occasions. It is partly as affording evidence of the good state of our literature, that we are desirous of directing the publick attention to it; but principally on account of its intrinsick value. We are persuaded that so far as we are able to make it more known, we are doing service to the cause of letters, and of morals.

* See our last number, p. 146.

The subjects of the Address are, as we stated in our last number, the necessity, the objects, and the influence of Moral Philosophy, in the most extensive sense of the term.

'Moral philosophy in strict propriety is the science of the principles and obligation of duty; but in the observations I may now make, I shall have reference also to all those studies and inquiries, which have for their object the knowledge and improvement of the moral condition of man.' p. 10.

In speaking of the necessity of moral science, the author is employed in answering the objections which may be made to it. These are to be resolved into notions which sometimes are expressly avowed; but which more frequently, perhaps, float loosely in men's minds, without forming themselves into fixed and well defined opinions.

'The doctrine of a moral sense has furnished the first objection to the necessity of moral science. It has often been said, the heart is the best casuist, and its natural promptings the safest guides in duty. But in respect to this objection it must be carefully remembered, that we are not to form our estimate of the value of natural conscience from the prevalent opinions of civilized and christian countries. The moral sense of the most unlearned at the present day is not the sense of nature, but of cultivation; it has been modified by the studies and experience of ages, and, and above all, by the christian religion. It is not denied, that we have from nature a moral as well as an intellectual capacity; but the former, no less than the latter, is to be improved and enlarged by observation and thought. Many duties arise from relations, which are complicated and remote; these relations must be investigated and brought together, and general principles, which may be settled into rules, deduced from them. The necessity of this is sufficiently shown by the different and contradictory maxims of duty, that have prevailed in different ages and nations. Were, however, the original suggestions of uncultivated conscience far clearer and more decisive than experience will allow us to believe, still the necessity of philosophy would not be superseded. The unremitted labours of the moralist would notwithstanding be required, to relieve the sentiments of mankind, from those associations of prejudice, of fashion, and of false opinion, which have so constant an influence in perverting the judgment and corrupting the heart, and to bring them back to the unbiassed dictates of nature and common sense. Besides, the moral constitution of man, his relations, and duties, are subjects too interesting, and too

fruitful of remark, to be neglected in the speculations of the ingenious and inquiring. Erroneous theories will be formed, nay they will be presented to mankind as the rule of life, and even history and fiction be made vehicles of principles, dangerous alike to virtue and to peace. While indeed these speculations of false philosophy are wrapped in metaphysical subtleties, they may excite little alarm, and serve rather to amuse the learned; they are those eccentrick lightnings, that play harmlessly in the evening cloud; but when they are made the maxims of common life, or, embodied in popular fiction, find their way into the hearts of men, they are these same lightnings concentrated and brought down to earth, blasting and consuming. The safety of society then requires, that such systems be subjected to the jealous scrutiny of a sound philosophy, and that there be men, whose habits and studies will lead them to a rigid superintendence of whatever is proposed;—to give authority to truth, and to detect and expose what is only specious and insinuating. If our moral being could be left, as it came from the hands of its Creator, to the simple and wholesome viands of nature, if it breathed only the pure atmostphere of truth, it might perhaps preserve the soundness of health, and the ingenuous suffusions of virtue; but pampered, as it is, with false philosophy and factitious sentiment, the antidote should grow with the poison. There will always be a Hobbes, a Rousseau, or a Godwin; let us then have also our Cudworths, our Butlers, and our Stewarts.' pp. 10—12.

Besides the other obvious beauties of the extract just quoted, we may remark one which is characteristick of the whole discourse—the compression of thought, and the variety of topicks, which, within a very narrow compass, are brought to bear upon the subject without disorder or obscurity.

The other objection remarked upon, is, that the Scriptures furnish us with a perfect rule of right; and that, therefore, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the deductions of human reason. The answer to this is as follows.

'The morality of the scriptures is preceptive and not theoretick; it enjoins dispositions, without showing their relative subordination, or specifying the actions that flow from them; it commands duties, but does not teach principles; nor was it possible, that its precepts, however numerous, should extend to all the variety of daily occurring cases. It is necessary for the christian to analyse the moral rules of his religion, to trace them to their principles, and again from these principles to deduce new rules, and by a knowledge of the reason of each, understand its ever varying accommodation to varying circumstances. Through a neglect of these

considerations, what enormities have not been perpetrated by men with the bible in their hands, from a wrong application of its precepts and examples? It is in this, as in the science of law, innumerable as are the provisions of statutes and cases, still that counsellor would be ill prepared to advise his client, who had not learned to distinguish the principle from the facts, and thus to judge how far the former might be affected by the minutest change in the latter. There is a legal mind, a law logick, more important to the professor than a knowledge of all the precedents in all the books without it.' p. 12.

In conformity with these remarks, we may observe, that it was not the design of revelation to teach a *complete system of morality.* The fundamental rules of conduct were distinctly stated; and duties, the obligation of which had not been recognized, or the practice of which had been generally disregarded, were strongly inculcated; such, for instance, as the duty of christian charity, in the most extensive, and of christian purity, in the more limited sense of the words. But direct instruction in other duties was rather incidental, than essential to its main purpose. There is so much truth and good sense in the remarks of Dr. Paley upon this subject, that we will venture to give an extract from him of some length. 'The teaching of morality was not the primary design of the mission of Christ.' ——— 'If I were to describe in a very few words the scope of Christianity, as a *revelation*, I should say, that it was to influence the conduct of human life, by establishing the proof of a future state of reward and punishment—'to bring life and immortality to light.' The direct object, therefore, of the design is, to supply motives, and not rules; sanctions, and not precepts. And these were what mankind stood most in need of. The members of civilized society can, in all ordinary cases, judge tolerably well how they ought to act; but without a future state, or, which is the same thing, without credited evidence of that state, they want a *motive* to their duty; they want, at least, strength of motive, sufficient to bear up against the force of passion, and the temptation of present advantage. Their rules want authority. The most important service that can be rendered to human life, and that, consequently, which, one might expect beforehand, would be the great end and office of a revelation from God, is to convey to the world authorized assurances of the reality of a future existence. And although in doing this, or by the min-

istry of the same person by whom this is done, moral precepts or examples, or illustrations of moral precepts, may be occasionally given, and be highly valuable, yet still they do not form the original purpose of the mission.'* To this statement there seems to us little to be objected, except that Dr. Paley has given an imperfect view of the design of revelation as intended to instruct us in *religious* truth. Not merely the doctrine of a future state was to be made known to men upon certain evidence, but the character of God likewise; and to all men but the Jews, his very existence and moral government.

After the passage last quoted from his address, Professor Frisbie, that he may not be misunderstood, notices 'the unspeakable importance of the aids revelation affords to the christian moralist, and the strong light it throws over the region of his inquiries.'

'The bible has taught us the being and attributes of God with a clearness and certainty, to which nature had made but the feeblest approaches; while at the same time, particularly in the new testament, it gives many plain rules in almost every branch of duty. From what a maze of paradox and doubt, in which heathen philosophers were continually bewildered and perplexed, are we now extricated by a few simple and sublime truths? Accordingly, we can scarcely read a page of a christian moralist, but we find him limiting, controlling, or supporting principles, by appeals to the acknowledged doctrines of revealed theology; while the practical rules are so many beacons along the road, to mark his course, and light him on his way. To investigate the principle of an admitted rule is much easier, and followed by conclusions far more satisfactory, than when the principle and the rule are both to be discovered. And when we proceed still further, to trace out new principles and deduce new rules, our inquiries are guided, and our conclusions tried, by truths already known. The parts supplied must be suited to those we possess; as our theories involve consequences, that contradict or harmonize with the plain maxims of the gospel, we know them to be false, or may presume them to be true.

'In conformity with these remarks, how different has been the practical application of the same theories, as they have been followed out into their consequences by sceptical or christian moralists. The systems of Godwin and Paley are both founded on the

* Paley's Evidences, P. II. c. 2.

same general principle of utility. This principle led the author of the Political Justice to consequences, that would sever not only the ties of intimate affection, but the very bonds of social order.— These consequences, he, who admits the principle, may find it difficult to avoid; yet the Archdeacon of Carlisle, guided and controlled by the doctrines of the bible, connected it with rules of conduct, consistent with the truest reason and purest virtue. Mr. Hume, aware of the cause of such differences, has lamented the unnatural alliance, which in modern times has united theology with morals; but he, who well considers the exact coincidence of the instructions of Jesus Christ with the deepest principles of our nature and the soundest deductions of philosophy, will find reasons, hardly less impressive than the miracles themselves, for believing that he was a teacher sent from God, and knew what was in man.'

pp. 13—15.

The author next remarks upon the characteristick value of revelation, as having furnished the highest motives and sanctions of duty; and then proceeds to speak of the objects of moral science.

'The *objects of moral science* are implied, in what we have said of its *necessity*. They are to preserve from neglect or perversion the knowledge we already possess, to enlarge its boundaries, and strengthen its foundations, by new or clearer views of the nature and relations of man, and above all, to give it a practical influence upon the character and prospects of society.' p. 15.

'Moral knowledge,' the author observes, 'cannot yet be supposed to have reached its limits. There are unexplored avenues before us, and gleams of light invite us onward.'— He remarks that no theory of morals has yet received a general, much less a universal assent; and notices the uncertainty and difference of opinion, which exist respecting some questions of practical importance in private life. He then proceeds;

'In the relations of states, of rulers and subjects, the principles of morality and rules of conduct are still more indefinite and unsettled. That the law of nations is but the extension of those maxims of equity and kindness, which should regulate the intercourse of individuals, till of late seems, in practice at least, hardly to have been conceived. Expediency rather than right has been the great spring of political motion, and diplomacy but another name for intrigue and duplicity. The representative, in his seat, will advo-

cate with his voice, and support with his vote, measures, which the man, in the relations of private life, would blush to acknowledge. Nor is this want of just sensibility confined to the statesman; with the citizen, to defraud the publick is too often but an achievement of ingenuity; and even the scholar in his closet, while he kindles with indignation at the injustice or cruelty of an individual, reads the aggressions and ravages of nations with hardly a sentiment, that they are crimes.

'Here then is much to be done; and there is also somewhat to encourage exertion. On these subjects are not juster views beginning to make their way? Negotiations are professed to be conducted more in the honourable spirit of frankness and conciliation. The laws, if not the practice, of civilized war have been softened into comparative mildness. Questions of national interest are debated, and the measures of governments examined, upon the broad basis of equity and truth, and statesmen compelled, if not to adopt, certainly to defend their plans of policy, not by reasons of state, but reasons of right. If all this be in pretence, more than in truth, still the necessity of hypocrisy is one proof of the existence of virtue. If the splendid pall be thrown over the bier, it is because men cannot bear the ghastliness of death.' pp. 16, 17.

The author next considers, in what manner the objects mentioned by him are most successfully to be pursued;—and then follows the third and last head of the discourse, in which he treats of the practical influence of moral philosophy. Under this head, after some general observations upon the connexion of knowledge with virtue, he speaks of the effect which the study of moral science is adapted to have upon those by whom it is pursued. The remarks, which immediately succeed, we shall give at length.

'If the effect, we have described, be natural, it cannot be confined to the philosopher alone; it will extend itself in his instructions and writings. The same views will be gradually applied in the formation of the dispositions and habits of children; they will become an important branch of liberal knowledge, and thus exert a control over the higher classes of society, over men of letters and the popular authors of the day.

'This suggests to us another means of practical influence. Those compositions in poetry and prose, which constitute the literature of a nation, the essay, the drama, the novel, it cannot be doubted, have a most extensive and powerful operation upon the moral feelings and character of the age. The very business of the authors of such works is directly or indirectly with the heart.

Even descriptions of natural scenery owe much of their beauty and interest to the moral associations they awaken. In like manner fine turns of expression or thought often operate more by suggestion than enumeration. But when feelings and passions are directly described, or embodied in the hero, and called forth by the incidents of a story it is then, that the magick of fiction and poetry is complete, that they enter into and dwell in the secret chambers of the very soul, moulding it at will. In these moments of deep excitement, must not a bias be given to the character, and much be done to elevate and refine, or degrade and pollute, those sympathies and sentiments, which are the sources of much of our virtue and happiness, or our guilt and misery? The danger is, that, in such cases, we do not discriminate the distinct action of associated causes. Even in what is presented to the senses, we are aware of the power of habitual combination. An object, naturally disagreeable, becomes beautiful, because we have often seen the sun shine or the dew sparkle upon it, or it has been grouped in a scene of peculiar interest. Thus the powers of fancy and of taste blend associations in the mind, which disguise the original nature of moral qualities. A liberal generosity, a disinterested self devotion, a powerful energy or deep sensibility of soul, a contempt of danger and death, are often so connected in story with the most profligate principles and manners, that the latter are excused and even sanctified by the former. The impression, which so powerfully seizes all the sympathies, is one; and the ardent youth becomes almost ambitious of a character, he ought to abhor. So too, sentiments, from which in their plain form delicacy would revolt, are insinuated with the charms of poetical imagery and expression; and even the coarseness of Fielding is probably less pernicious, than the seducing refinement of writers like Moore; whose voluptuous sensibility steals upon the heart and corrupts its purity, as the moon beams, in some climates, are believed to poison the substances on which they fall.

'But in no productions of modern genius is the reciprocal influence of morals and literature more distinctly seen, than in those of the author of Childe Harold. His character produced the poems; and it cannot be doubted, that his poems are adapted to produce such a character. His heroes speak a language, supplied not more by imagination, than consciousness. They are not those machines, that, by a contrivance of the artist, send forth a musick of their own; but instruments, through which he breathes his very soul, in tones of agonized sensibility, that cannot but give a sympathetick impulse to those who hear. The desolate misanthropy of his mind rises and throws its dark shade over his poetry, like one of his own ruined castles; we feel it to be sublime, but we forget, that it is a sublimity it cannot have, till it is abandoned by

every thing, that is kind and peaceful and happy, and its halls are ready to become the haunts of outlaws and assassins. Nor are his more tender and affectionate passages those, to which we can yield ourselves without a feeling of uneasiness. It is not that we can here and there select a proposition formally false or pernicious; but that he leaves an impression unfavourable to a healthful state of thought and feeling, peculiarly dangerous to the finest minds and most susceptible hearts. They are the scene of a summer evening, where all is tender and beautiful and grand; but the damps of disease descend with the dews of heaven, and the pestilent vapours of night are breathed in with the fragrance and balm, and the delicate and fair are the surest victims of the exposure.

'Although I have illustrated the moral influence of literature, principally from its mischiefs; yet it is obvious, if what I have said be just, it may be rendered no less powerful, as a means of good. Is it not true that within the last century a decided and important improvement in the moral character of our literature has taken place; and, had Pope and Smollet written at the present day, would the former have published the imitations of Chaucer, or the latter the adventures of Pickle and Random? Genius cannot now sanctify impurity or want of principle; and our critics and reviewers are exercising jurisdiction not only upon the literary but moral blemishes of the authors, that come before them. We notice with peculiar pleasure the sentence of just indignation, which the Edinburgh tribunal has pronounced upon Moore, Swift, Goethe, and in general the German sentimentalists. Indeed the fountains of literature, into which an enemy has sometimes infused poison, naturally flow with refreshment and health. Cowper and Campbell have led the muses to repose in the bowers of religion and virtue; and Miss Edgeworth has so cautiously combined the features of her characters, that the predominant expression is ever what it should be; she has shown us, not vices ennobled by virtues, but virtues, degraded and perverted by their union with vices. The success of this lady has been great, but had she availed herself more of the motives and sentiments of religion, we think it would have been greater. She has stretched forth a powerful hand to the impotent in virtue; and had she added, with the apostle, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, we should almost have expected miracles from its touch.' pp. 21—25.

It would not be easy to find a passage more distinguished for correctness of sentiment, and beauty of expression, than that which we have quoted. We wish that his subject, and the limits of his discourse, had allowed the author to enlarge

somewhat upon the thoughts expressed in the beginning of the last paragraph. It is very gratifying to observe the gradual improvement in the moral character of English literature, since the reign of Charles II. and the period immediately subsequent. Many of the plays and poems of that day are such as we might fancy to be written in a world, that had been put out of the sphere of God's providence and moral government; among men who had heard of religion and morality indeed, as imposing obligations upon other creatures, but who felt themselves free from these restraints, and thought of them only as matters of ridicule;—whose main business was to pursue their gross pleasures as long as they were able, and to cheat each other whenever they had an opportunity; but who at the same time possessed that sort of mischievous ingenuity and quickness of wit, which have been fancied to be properties of evil spirits. Nothing could be more remote from the genius of the writers of this race, than the exhibition of those striking, but most unnatural characters, in which the fierce vices of pirates, and outlaws, and men of desperate wickedness, are united with a prevailing tone of romantick tenderness, of high sentiment, and of over delicate and exasperated sensibility. Their characters have only the hard, impudent, diseased countenance of every day profligacy. They dwelt in their writings upon such vices as they relished, and introduced such personages as they associated with in common life. The literature of the age, in its prevailing character, was like Messalina coming from the stews;—

> 'Obscurisque genis turpis, fumoque lucernæ
> Fœda, lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem.'

We have not forgotten that Dryden was a writer of this age; nor have we forgotten his indecency, his immorality, and his profanity. Of Dryden we are almost afraid to say what we think. He versified with great facility, and often with great force and melody, though quite as often in a very incorrect and slovenly style; he has much vigorous language, which gives a bold relief to his thoughts; he possessed not a little of the ingenuity of the metaphysical race of poets, tempered with considerably more good sense; and he was a very powerful, though coarse satirist; occasionally very skilful and acute in the delineation of character, (as in that of the Duke of Buckingham for instance,) for the purpose of ridicule or invective. 'They say,' he observes in one of his

prefaces, 'my talent is satire;' and in this opinion his contemporaries seem to have formed a correct estimate of his abilities. In the enumeration just given, we doubt whether we have not exhausted all his claims to great intellectual superiority as a poet. Nobody looks for pathos, or tenderness, or delicacy of thought or feeling in the writings of Dryden. He has no sublimity of any kind; least of all, any thing that approaches to moral sublimity. He spreads before us no fine views of visible nature; he never carries us forth among the works of God to admire and be delighted. He was unable vividly to conceive and express human passions and feelings. He never seizes on our sympathy; he does not make us intimate with himself, nor interest us in those characters which he embodies and puts in action. Nature never gave to him those keys which open her secret recesses. There is no magick in his verses; they produce no emotion; they are as little allied as possible to that poetry, which 'stirs a man's heart like the sound of a trumpet.' They discover much intellectual vigour, but possess no moral power. When not seasoned by the noxious stimulant of personal satire, his longer poems in heroick verse are uninteresting and tiresome. Who reads a second time his Palamon and Arcite; except as a mere literary critick, to be satisfied that his first judgment of it was correct? Who now reads through his Hind and Panther? We believe that but few have with us submitted to this unprofitable labour. No one rises from the perusal of his poetry better or wiser; with any thoughts, or feelings, or images, which a good man would wish to retain. In every thing relating to moral sentiment, the mind of Dryden was essentially coarse, vulgar, and depraved.

We regret that Mr. Scott should have given his time and talents to editing a complete edition of the works of this author. The poems of Dryden, which are of any value, were sufficiently known; and it was not worth any one's while to bring together, and attempt to restore to life, those of his writings, which were perishing in their own corruption. We hope, that the passion for collecting and preserving every thing, which has once had notoriety, will sometime or another be succeeded by the exercise of a discriminating judgment, which will reject what is not worth preservation.*

* We recollect a fine essay upon the subject of Mr. Scott's edition of Dryden's works, in a number of the Analectick Magazine, published some years since. We regret that we have not the work at hand, to refer to it more particularly.

It would be very pleasant to trace the moral improvement of English literature since the age of which we have been speaking. We think that the progress of this improvement is to be particularly remarked in our prose works of fiction. The novels of Smollet are of such a character, that if any one were to keep them on his table or in his library, and recur to them with much relish for relaxation or amusement, we might begin to fear that his taste for low humour had outgrown some other tastes much better worth cultivation. Fielding was a writer of more genius than Smollet. He has more invention, more wit, more character, and more thought. Nor does he introduce us into company quite so gross and offensive. A familiarity with his characters is not so much adapted to debase and brutalize the imagination and feelings. But the effect of his writings upon the moral principles is little less injurious than those of Smollet. Their prevailing tendency is to represent one as being better, more manly, and more pleasant, for having a few vices; and to teach us that those, who appear to be afraid of sinning, are in general little better than hypocrites and scoundrels.

We think that the best writers of prose fiction, at the present day, are hardly less superiour in genius than in morality to those whom we have mentioned. The author of Waverly and Guy Mannering might, without vanity, be little flattered by a comparison, which in all the higher intellectual endowments, should put him far above such writers as Fielding and Smollet. And though with regard to Miss Edgeworth, some of the late English reviewers appear to have a little of the feeling of the Athenian, who was tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, yet for ourselves we continue to regard her with unabated admiration. She has faults and defects, without doubt; and the most important of them is that pointed out by the author of the address,—the infrequency with which she *directly* brings into view religious principles and sentiments; though for this we think some reasons might be alleged not wholly without weight. But in truth and nature; in the correct conception and complete preservation of a great variety of characters; in her skill in adjusting together moral and intellectual qualities, as they are really found combined in nature, so that the effect of her characters upon our moral feelings is always what it ought to be; in pointing out and tracing those influences which mould the affections and the understanding; in the admirable good sense of her

remarks upon life, conduct and manners, which, from their acuteness, and from the manner of their introduction, remind us of the concentrated wisdom of Tacitus; in wit and refined humour, which are hardly equalled by those of Addison; in fertility and happiness of allusion; in her talent for introducing all that sort of information which admits of being incorporated into such works as she composes; in the finish and brilliancy of those passages in which she gives us the conversation of polished life; in touches of exquisite pathos, though this merit has sometimes been denied her by those who have not sufficiently entered into the feelings and situation of her characters; in the purity and ease of her immaculate style; and in that predominating spirit of perfect good taste, and of elegance and refinement of mind, which appears in all her writings, in every one of these excellencies, she has no superiour, and in their union with each other, she has no equal. There is nothing, which in the combination of these excellencies approaches to an equality with her writings; and by the uniform employment of her rare talents to afford gratification to some of our best feelings, and to recommend and strengthen some of our best habits of action, she has conferred obligations upon the world, which entitle her to a reputation as enviable perhaps, as that of any writer in English literature.

Though we have suffered ourselves to wander so far, yet we must return once more to the address of Professor Frisbie, to give another paragraph from the last head, and the very fine conclusion of the whole discourse.

'The incorporating of religion with morality, we mention in the last place, as a means of practical influence. Those, we have hitherto noticed, have a more particular reference to the higher and intellectual classes; but this extends to every order in society. It is not the fountain, which plays only in the gardens of the palace, but the rain of heaven, which descends alike upon the enclosures of the rich and the poor, and refreshes the meanest shrub, no less than the fairest flower. The sages of antiquity seem to have believed, that morality had nothing to do with religion; and christians of the middle age, that religion had nothing to do with morality; but, at the present day, we acknowledge how intimate and important is their connexion. It is not views of moral fitness, by which the minds of men are at first to be affected, but by connecting their duties with the feelings and motives, the hopes and fears of christianity. Both are necessary, the latter to prompt and invigorate virtue, the former to give it the beauty of knowl-

edge and taste. It is heat, that causes the germ to spring and flourish in the heart; but it is light, that imparts verdure to its foliage, and their hues to its flowers.

'Thus I have spoken, not as I could have wished, but as I was able, of the necessity, the objects, and influence of the studies of the moralist. I am aware of objections to much that I have said, which I have omitted to notice, not because they were unimportant, but from want of time for their discussion. The idea of perfectibility has been considered as the dream of the visionary; but it does not follow, that because every thing is not to be hoped, therefore nothing is to be attempted. Man has certainly capacities of improvement, and he can feel a moral influence; his progress may be fluctuating and slow; but, from the application of judicious and unremitting efforts, will it not be certain? Commencing with those, who labour to unfold the principles and ends of moral action, may it not be expected to descend, as we have said, through the higher and more intellectual classes of society, till it reaches and purifies and ennobles the great mass of mankind in the humblest walks of life; as the blood, flowing from the heart and distributed through the larger arteries, finds its way at length into the capillary and minuter vessels, where it is incorporated with the very substance of the body, giving health and vigour and beauty. Let us then close, by accommodating to our subject the words of Quintilian concerning eloquence, 'Nam est certe aliquid consummata virtus;* neque ad eam pervenire natura humani ingenii prohibet; quod si non contingat, altius tamen ibunt, qui ad summa nitentur.'

The views exhibited in the last paragraph are such as the philosopher and the christian delight to contemplate; and in this country, there is particular reason that they should engage and fix our attention. In this country, mankind seem to be subjected to an experiment to determine their power of improvement, instituted under circumstances incomparably more favourable than ever before existed. No people ever entered the high way to honour with such encouragements and advantages. We are full of youthful freshness and vigour. We are free from any of those institutions transmitted to us from past ages, by which other nations are enthralled, and held back, and allied to the ignorance and vices of their progenitors. The mind is not with us crippled and deformed by prejudices, wound round it from its birth to mould it to some established fashion. We have none of those privileged orders, which are so apt to become stagnant pools of corruption, diffusing moral infection through a

* Eloquentia.

people. We acknowledge no claims to superiority, but those which nature has sanctioned, or which are the necessary result of civil society. No adventitious circumstances can supply the want of those qualities that are justly entitled to respect; nor give pre-eminence and power to one, who, without them, would not be tolerated in the common intercourse of life. We have no established church to oppress and bear down the truth, to hold out a lure in its emoluments, and in the manner, in which these are disposed of, for some men to assume the character of christian ministers, who are but poorly qualified for the office; and to weaken the moral principle of its best members, by leading them to subterfuges scarcely excusable, in order to justify a profession of assent to doctrines which they do not believe. In civil liberty and privileges; and in religious liberty and privileges, so far as these depend on the laws, we have nothing more to ask or to wish for; we are favoured beyond all example; almost beyond any previous imagination of what might possibly be attained. There exists in this country a facility in acquiring the means of subsistence which is elsewhere unknown. Honest industry will secure to a man, and to his family, all the necessaries and many of the conveniences and luxuries of life. The food of the mind is procured with as much ease as that of the body. In many, we believe most of our states, all the provision which can reasonably be desired, has been made, and has been made successfully, for affording to the great body of the people the rudiments of useful learning. The prevailing humanity of our national character appears in that merciful code of penal laws, which has been adopted throughout a great part of our country; to which there is no parallel in other nations. We are in a great measure free from that corruption of manners which has spread itself over Europe. No where is there more of domestick virtue and domestick happiness. The standard of morals is very high with us; and a sense of the obligations of religion and morality is diffused among all classes. This is said generally of course; as all such assertions respecting national character must be made. We do not estimate that of England from the miners of Cornwall, or from the population of her manufacturing towns. We are, to give our general character, a religious and moral people. Such is our present state; and when we look back upon our history, there is little, comparatively speaking, at which we

need blush, and very much by which we may justly regard ourselves as honourably distinguished.

If now we are told that other nations excel us in the arts of refinement and luxury, it is not worth while for us to plead our youth or our poverty; we may answer with the feeling of the Roman poet;

> 'Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
> Credo equidem.'

There is no nation which has been outraged with such profligate calumny; and there never was a people, who seemed less disposed to form a correct estimate of their privileges, their advantages, and their distinctions. Our hearts have been too cold, when reminded that *This is our own, our native land*; and the attachment of which we have defrauded our own country, we have given somewhat too lavishly to others. This is the main fault in our national character. It is time for us to be a little more remiss in our admiration of what is foreign, and to learn to respect ourselves. It is time for us to learn to think of ourselves more justly. In looking so much abroad for models and precedents, there is danger that we may receive from other nations some of the hereditary mischiefs by which they are oppressed, some of the decrepid prejudices to whose authority they still submit, and some of the corruptions of age by which they are disgraced and made miserable.

It is not here the place to speak of those means by which our moral and intellectual condition may be still further improved; but the character of the address we have been considering, and the train of thought it developes, naturally lead us to mention one of them. It is the diffusion of correct tastes, sentiments, and opinions by the writings of literary men and scholars. Hitherto the peculiar circumstances and exigencies of our country have almost imperiously directed the talents of our eminent men to other occupations, or called them off to higher duties, than those of literature. When asked, therefore, why we have hitherto done so little in the department of letters, we will answer in the first place, that we have done something, and that our just claims have not been asserted by ourselves, nor allowed by others; and we will go on to reply, that the period is not very distant,—that it is quite within the memory of no very aged individual, when we were, as Mr. Burke described us, 'a people but in

the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood ;' that before that time, little *literary* labour was to be expected from the poor and hardy adventurers into an unknown land ; surrounded by savage enemies ; holding the plough with one hand and the musket in the other ; and that since that time we have been vindicating our present rank among nations, through the agony of a revolution, and have been organizing ourselves into an empire. But the period has arrived when we must have a literature of our own. This cannot now be regarded as an ornament with which we may dispense, incurring in consequence only a little national disgrace ; it must be considered as the safeguard of our best principles, habits, and feelings. It should be made an object of publick and of individual interest. There is no deficiency of talents in our country ; its enemies have ceased to make this reproach ; and literary exertion therefore will be in proportion to its encouragement. There will be men of letters enough, when the country is ready to afford them honour and reward. The one must be provided for them ; and their claim to the other must be recognised and asserted ; and there must be a general feeling, that our national reputation is implicated in the reputation of our national literature. In this too, as in other things, we are in some danger from an indiscriminate admiration of what we may see in older countries. There is little reason to reform our plans of education to bring them to a nearer conformity to theirs. It is not worth while for us to adopt from them traditionary usages, which ought long since to have become obsolete ; and from which it would be happy for them if they could deliver themselves. Our plans of education are suited to our necessities. They are not adapted to overburden the mind with unprofitable learning ; but they are adapted to effect what ought to be the great purpose of education, to call forth, and exercise and strengthen the different faculties of the mind. Mere scholars, mere literary artisans are but an inferiour class in the republick of letters ; and certainly not that, which we have most occasion for. It is quite as well, to say the least, that our manufactories of lexicons and editions of the classicks should be at Halle and Göttingen, as that our manufactories of hardware and of woollen goods should be at Birmingham and Manchester. There is even less inconvenience in the former state of things than in the latter. The literature which we want is effective, practical, useful literature, the literature of

the intellect and the heart. The men, whom we particularly need, are those, who may guide and form publick opinion and sentiment in matters of taste, in morals, in politicks, and in religion; men, who will think and write like the author of the address, which we have been reviewing. We want also those who may instruct us through the medium of our own history, and transmit it to posterity in the form in which it ought to be preserved; those who may delight us with native works of imagination and genius; and those who may extend the bounds of natural science by exploring the riches of our own country. But we do not wish merely for the encouragement of men of letters who are particularly adapted to our necessities and circumstances. We ought to rejoice in every display of intellectual superiority among us. We ought to feel it an honour to our country and to our native state, that it can boast of a mathematician (it is unnecesary to name him) who rivals the first in Europe. We ought not to be satisfied or inactive, till our country is contributing its full proportion to the treasury of the intellectual wealth of mankind.

Never in all past ages did a prospect so glorious rise to the view of any nation, as that which is disclosed to our own. Before some of those who may read what we are now writing, shall taste of death, fifty or sixty millions of men will have poured themselves over our country, carrying civilization and the arts to the extreme corner, where the last of our lakes meets the Mississippi; and making the wilderness disappear before them, and ascending and passing the Rocky Mountains, where the Missouri has its source. The character and condition of this immense multitude depend upon nothing so much as upon the principles and feelings, which may be transmitted to them from the present generation. We ought to acknowledge the debt which is due to our posterity; and to feel that there is no responsibility more solemn, than that of those, who may in any considerable degree affect the destinies of such a people.

# ORIGINAL POETRY.

## *Translation of the Eighth Satire of Boileau;*

## ON MAN.

Addressed to a Doctor of the Sorbonne.

Exactly to relish the commencement of this satire, we must imagine the author in the presence of one of the faculty of the Sorbonne, who is full of his conceptions of the dignity and excellence of human nature.—The Satirist may be supposed to have just drawn his hand over his face, and with a provoking solemnity, in which are still lurking the traces of a sneer, to begin thus;—

Of all the living things, which walk or creep,
Dart through the air, or cleave the liquid deep,
From Rome to Ind.(1)—from Paris to Japan,
The silliest fool, (I *do* conceive) is man.
'Patience, what next?' some Doctor here exclaims,
'Sure you're not serious, when you call such names;
You do not mean, that worms, and ants, and flies,
The fluttering insect, that but lives and dies,
The ruminating tribe—the browsing clan—
The bull—the goat—have better wits than man?'
Yes, Doctor, that I do;—though wild surprise
Already opes, I find, your saucer-eyes.
You say, with truth, that man is nature's king,
Lord of the fields, floods, creatures, every thing;
Reason, I grant, is his exclusive lot,
But *hence* I argue him that brainless sot.
'Oh, very well'—you shrug your brow and say,
'A paradox may answer in its way;
Such things in Satire may be worth the while
To tip a verse, or make a reader smile;
But where's the proof? *that* boldly I demand!'
I'm charg'd and prim'd—so, Doctor, take your stand.

(1) *Ind.* The reader must understand a *Western* Ind. Perou is the word in the original.

Say, what is Wisdom? 'Tis that equal frame,
No cares can vex—nor wild desires inflame;
Whose step right forward to its object tends,
Strait as a dean the pulpit stair ascends.
Now, of this equability of mind,
What has a scantier pittance than mankind?
The ant each year climbs o'er the hillocks green,
And stores with grain her little magazine;
And when rude Boreas throws, with blasts that kill,
O'er nature's frame, a melancholy chill,
This tiny thing lives warm in her retreat,
Whose summer earnings make her winter sweet.
But ah! you ne'er behold her dance and skim
With strange inconstancy, from whim to whim;
You never see her lounge the Spring away,
And then go bustling on a Winter's day,
Nor rashly stare in January's face,
To droop, when Sol begins his vernal race.
How far unlike the headlong creature, Man,
Who roves unceasingly from plan to plan.
Vex'd with a thousand cares, he scarce knows what
New freak to follow, or to follow not.
The thing to-day he chooses to abhor,
That thing to-morrow he is dying for.
'What! shall I go and marry some coquette,
Unmov'd by all the insults I shall get,
And rank among those easy saints of men,
Who gain renown from Bussi's(2) blazoning pen?
No, never, there are fools enough beside,
For the whole town to banter and deride!'
So said a marquis but one month ago,
How well, the lapse of fifteen days could show.
Caught in the snare, in spite of all his vows,
He shines the model of a loving spouse,
And thinks that some new rib has sprung to life,
Which heaven has moulded to his faithful wife.
And such is Man—flitting from black to white,
He flouts at morning what he holds at night,
A pest to others, to himself a load,
He shifts his mind each minute like a mode;
Sport of a breeze, by every ripple sunk,
This day a hero, and the next a monk.

(2) Bussi, in his 'history of gallantry,' enumerates many very criminal *affairs* of married ladies about the court.

Whilst thus his brains in vapoury follies steep,
And cradled in chimeras, sink to sleep,
He feels himself the prop of nature's throne,
And the tenth heaven revolves for him alone.
He is the lord of all beneath the sky—
'And who denies it?' would you think it?—I.
But without asking now, which lord can scare
Each other most, the traveller, or the bear,
Or whether, should the Nubian hinds decree
That Barca's lions must from Lybia flee,
The trembling brutes would scamper for their life,
I'll put one question, which shall end the strife.
This would-be tyrant of the earth and sea—
This lord of all—how many lords has he?
Ambition, avarice, desire, and hate,
Inflict a worse than galley rower's fate.
Scarcely has sleep o'erspread his weary eyes—
'Up, up,' says Avarice, 'tis time to rise.'
'Wait—oh!' 'No, up!' 'One moment let me stay,
The shops as yet are shut—'tis scarcely day.'
'No matter, rise!' 'What would you have me do?'
'Why scour each sea and ocean through and through,
E'en to Japan for clay and amber roam,
And bring from Goa spice and ginger home.'
'But why on traffick would you have me bent,
When I've enough to make my heart content?'
'You cannot have too much—still grasp at more,
Though crime and perjury should swell the store.
If hunger gnaw—forbid your stomach bread,
And be content to make the ground your bed.
Drive from your house each article of cost,
Though you've more wealth than ever Galet(3) lost.
E'en while your granaries are fill'd with wheat,
Be rye and barley all you dare to eat.
And rather than behold one farthing fly,
Make up your wise and prudent mind to die.'
'But why indulge this suicidal care?'
'Why? to be sure, for some ungrateful heir,
Whose costly wardrobe, and luxurious board
Shall drain the wealth, which you so fondly stor'd,
And with his equipage confuse the town;—
Come, come, the sailors wait, so haste ye down.'
Or, should he rise beyond the love of gain,
Perhaps ambition, with her gorgeous train

(3) A famous gamester.

Comes to disturb the bosom of his rest,
And make him sigh for shadows unpossest.—
Sends him distracted, and a prey to chance,
To lead with Cesars the infuriate dance,
On some high breach his foolish death to get,
Whose tale may grace a gossiping gazette.—
'Hold! not so fast'—I hear some dreamer say,
'On fitter subjects throw your spleen away.
This vice, which draws your indignation down,
Is virtue's self—gem of the hero's crown.—
What then? according to your sapient school,
Was Alexander but a piteous fool?'
Ha! do you name that hair brain'd wretch's name,
Who laid all Asia low with sword and flame?
That raving maniack, stung with lust of gore,
Lord of one world, who wept to conquer more?
Born as he was to rule a peaceful state,
He might have rank'd among the good and great.
But mad with pride, a self created god,
He, like a houseless bandit, rush'd abroad,
Round him a war of deathful horrours hurl'd,
And with his matchless folly drench'd the world.
Happy, if then, (for reasons full a host)
Poor Macedonia might a Bedlam boast,
Wherein his sage preceptor had confin'd
The pamper'd boy in mercy to mankind.
But on digressions thus no more to go,
Discussing all the passions, like Senaut,(4)
Sorting by name, and classifying crime,
With tuneful ethicks lecturing in rhyme,
Suppose we quit this darker side of man,
(Which Coeffeteau and Chambre still may scan)
And place him in the fairest light we can.
Well, then, of all the living things that are,
Man only knows, his advocates declare,
Those social ties, that bind him to his kind,
Or manners, softened, polished and refin'd.
'Tis he, they say, alone of living things,
That walks with rulers, magistrates, and kings;
He only knows the happy art to draw
Safety and bliss from polity and law.
All this is true. But still, without police,
Sheriff, or spy, or justice of the peace,

(4) Senaut, La chambre, and Coeffeteau, made each of them a treatise on the passions.

Who ever heard of bandit wolves, that stray
Like us, to make their fellow wolves a prey?
And where is written on th' historick page
The tale of some ambitious tiger's rage,
Who, for the selfish honours of a throne,
Has made Hyrcania's land with factions groan?
Does bear, that prowls the forest, war with bear?
Do vultures dart on vultures, in the air?
Who ever saw, on Africk's burning plain,
A brute community their charter stain,
Lions rend lions, kinsmen kinsmen fight,
And all to fix some tyrant's wavering right?
The fiercest animal that nature warms,
Looks with complacency on kindred forms—
Preserves with them his temper at a poise,
Lives without lawsuit, wrangling, tumults, noise.
The eagle claims no alien-law, which stays(5)
A sequestration but a short eight days.
No fox, chicaning for a bird, is seen
Employing Rolet with his bag of green;(6)
No wanton doe before a court would drag,
With charge of impotence, her wedded stag,
Nor would for them a shameless judge be found,
To appoint a '*congress*'—(foul, disgraceful sound!)(7)
No injur'd plaintiffs there a plea support—
Nor inquest hold the brutes—nor penal court.
Each with the other leads his life along,
With simple laws, incapable of wrong.
Man, Man alone, with savage fury blind,
Makes it a point to sacrifice his kind.
'Twas but a small, though too infernal stain,
To whet the steel, and knead the nitrous grain;
As if to fill the measure of his rage,
Behold the Law's inextricable page!
See learn'd interpreters unfix the sure,

(5) The eagle, the monarch of birds.
The Alien Law of France, here alluded to, unjustly allowed the king to appropriate the effects of a foreigner, who died in his dominions, if not claimed within eight days. How could the rightful heirs at home be apprised of the demise in due season to advance their claims?

(6) Rolet was a lawyer of considerable practice. The commentators say, that the physiognomy and character of Rolet made the introduction of his name here peculiarly *apropos*.

(7) This vile usage was abolished in France, principally in consequence of this indignant remonstrance of our author.

See far-fetch'd glosses darken the obscure ;
See justice gasp her last and quivering breath,
Beneath whole heaps of authors press'd to death.
And oh ! more hateful curse than all the rest,
See France invaded by a legal pest,
The herd of advocates, who plead and spout,
Wearing our nerves, and ears, and patience out.
'Softly !' you say ; 'why thus so fiercely chide ?
Man *has* his passions ; be it not denied ;
By waves and whimsies, like the ocean tost,
Yet are his vices in his virtues lost.
For who but he, audacious, skilful man,
Subjects the measured heavens to his span ?
Is it not he, whose comprehensive view
Has search'd all Nature and her agents through ?
Where are your universities for beasts ?
Where are their artists, doctors, jurists, priests ?
Where are the medical and legal brutes,
Who go, with ermine trimm'd, in scarlet suits ?'(8)
Aye, true, with them no base physician's art,
With poisonous skill, enacts the assassin's part.
Arm'd at all points, no syllogistick fool
Grows hoarse, disputing at a bestial school
But not to comment on the well known doubt,
Whether man ever found one reason out,
Whether his knowledge be not all a hum,
I'll ask a question, which shall strike you dumb.
In our own age, is knowledge rated so,
That men indeed are weigh'd by what they know ?
Would you desire to see the rich and great,
In crowds obsequious hover round your gate,
(Thus said a prudent father to his son,
Whose bearded glories had but just begun,)
Receive the counsels of a loving sire,
And doom your books and papers to the fire.
But hark—suppose one hundred francs were lent,
What would the interest be at five per cent ?
'Why, twenty livres.' Right, dear boy, now go,
You know exactly all you ought to know.
What honours wait you, and what golden fruits !
Ah, cherish still such high and blest pursuits.
Forsake old Plato, with his dreaming trance,
And fondly stick to Guido on finance.

(8) The doctors of the university, on days of ceremony, wore scarlet robes trimmed with ermine.

Look round the provinces, and find out which
Will soonest make a farmer-general rich;
See how much salt each state will yearly bring,
To swell the exchequer, and enrich the king.
Harden your heart—be Arab—be Corsair,
Unjust, rapacious, forger, cheat, unfair.
Don't go about to act the *generous* fool,
Feast upon misery's tears—be that your rule.
Eluding Colbert's(9) ever-watchful eyes,
Go grasp a fortune, by your cruelties.
Soon will approach, to court your kind regards,
Crowds of grammarians, orators, and bards,
Astronomers—the learned—the profound,—
With verbal criticks, scattering incense round.
All these shall freely pluck from glory's throne
The names of heroes to affix your own.
While Dedication, flattery and puff
Shall never seem to daub you half enough,
Shall plainly prove in Hebrew, Latin, Greek,
That you, on every art, can wisely speak.
The rich man shares each blessing of the skies,
Learn'd without knowledge, without wisdom wise;
*He* has the soul, the heart, the rank, the worth,
*He*, virtue, valour, dignity, and birth.
Priz'd by the great, and cherish'd by the fair;
No treasury swain e'er mourn'd a slighted prayer.
Gold e'en to ugliness gives beauty's bloom,
But poverty is blighting as the tomb.
'Twas thus a miser shrewdly taught his son,
By what fair arts the prize of wealth is won,
And many a dolt the self same end attains,
With this sole secret, labouring in his brains,
'Take two from five and four, and seven remains.'
Now, after this, good Doctor, if you please,
Go to the bible—study, pine, and tease;
Go trace the quicksands errour scatters there,
Pierce the dread darkness which the scriptures wear,
Let all the walls of heresy be shook,
Quash Luther—Calvin—in a single book,
Settle the dark and knotty points of old,
Explain what rabbins never could unfold;
Thus labouring onward to your latest age,
Present, at length, your richly crowded page,

(9) Minister and secretary of state, &c.

In Turkey binding, to some sneaking lord,
Whose little spirit measures his reward,
While, for the depths of bible-truths explain'd,
'Accept my thanks'—the sole return is gain'd.
Or, if a loftier aim allures you on,
Forsake the schools, the bonnet, the Sorbonne,
And wisely taking to some better work,
Become a banker's or a notary's clerk.
Leave old Saint Thomas to make friends with Scot,(10)
And think with me, a schoolman is a sot.
'A schoolman is a sot?' you scowl and say,
'Apply that title to a poet, pray.
Repress your indiscreet and flippant muse,
E'en the wild laws of satire you abuse.
However, not to waste one moment more,
Come to the question's very point and core.
That man has *reason*—can it be denied?
His faithful pilot, and his torchlike guide.'
True—but what value has the warning call,
If heedless man rush headlong, after all,
To launch his feeble bark, and madly brave
Each dangerous quicksand, and each stormy wave?
Thus, of what use is reason to Cotin,(11)
Which cries, 'keep that mad itch of writing in,'
If all its warnings, with a loss of time,
Do but increase his raging lust of rhyme?
Brawling each day, his verse he *will* recite,
And puts his neighbours, friends, and kin to flight.
For, till the evil spirit is allay'd,
All shun him, even to his servant maid.
An ass, at least, by nature's instinct taught,
Obeys her dictates, meekly, as he ought;
Ne'er does *he* lift his uncouth voice and bray
To tell the birds he chants as well as they.
Irrational, he ever trudges right;
Man, reasoning man, is blind with all his light.
His life, a throng of whims and timeless deeds—
Sense vainly checks him, reason vainly pleads—
Pleas'd and displeas'd alike with good or bad,
Gay without reason, without reason sad.

(10) Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, two rival old schoolmen in theology and metaphysicks.

(11) The reader of the preceding translations will remember his old acquaintance.

The self same object both delights and pains,
By chance he loves, detests, enjoys, disdains,
Avoids, pursues, abandons, and employs,
Squanders and hoards, produces and destroys.
Yet more—what sottish animal, but man,
What member of the bear or panther clan,
Invents chimeras for his own affright,
And at the shadows of his brain turns white ?
When more than twelve assemble in a flock,(12)
Does an odd number strike a panick shock ?
Does every crow their coward fancies scare,
Which vents its croakings in the noon day air ?
Tell me, did *man* e'er see a foolish beast
Approach our race with sacrifice and feast,
And as if he were nature's god and king,
Beg for the sunshine or the showers of spring ?
No.—But the beasts a thousand times *have* seen
Poor man, a prey to superstitious spleen,
Adore the image which his hands have made,
Or at a monkey's altar kneel, afraid,
Or basely, on the borders of the Nile,
Burn suppliant incense to the crocodile.
'Forbear,' you cry, 'to press that odious theme,
Ne'er will it serve to fortify your scheme ;
What though a few Egyptian devotees
Adore their brutal gods on bended knees,
How can it help your paradox to pass,
*A man—a doctor ! is beneath an ass ?*
An ass—the mocking stock of every beast—
Whose blunders—whose mishaps, have never ceas'd ;
Whose name—a satire in itself—implies
Whate'er can make our powers of laughter rise.'
Yes—even so—an ass ! but what provokes
Good doctor, thus your keen unpitying jokes ?(13)
We scoff at asses—yet could they in turn
Our numerous faults with equal freedom spurn,
If to some mentor-asinine were given
The power of language by indulgent Heaven,

(12) In the good days of signs and hobgoblins, if exactly thirteen people assembled at a table, one of them was sure to die before the year was finished. Of the fate bearing eloquence of the crow, who is ignorant ?

(13) Nothing can be conceived equal to the poignancy of these lines, when it is remembered that the Satire was dedicated to Monsieur Moral, Doctor of the Sorbonne, a personage, the lower part of whose visage returning out, made his facial angle so unfortunately acute, that he received from the wits of Paris the appellation of Mr. Jaw-bone-of-an-Ass.

That he might utter to the world aloud
The thoughts that on his silent musings crowd,
Ah, doctor, fairly now, betwixt us, say,
What would the sweet voic'd, shrewd reformer bray?
What must he think of all the sights which meet
His gazing eyes in some Parisian street,
Where men in every colour swarm the place,
Some black, some gray, some dizened out with lace?
Here, carrying death within his nostrum pouch,
Rides an assassin to a sick man's couch.
There moves a pedant train, with ermine lin'd,
Rector and beadles following fast behind.
What must he think, when justice moves along,
Press'd by an idle and enormous throng,
Who crowd to see a fellow creature's fate
Dealt at a cool, unceremonious rate.
What *must* the creature think, if chance should draw
His steps some Thursday to our court of law,
Where, from the hall, chicane's infernal throat
Bellows afar its wild, infuriate note?
What, when he sees the judges, tipstaffs, clerks,
Register, sergeants, men of quips and quirks?
Ah, could he *then* forget his native bray
And find the voice he had in Esop's day,
This poor misanthrope (name too dearly earn'd!)
How would he use his power of speech return'd?
Beholding, as he must, on every side
The flood of human folly spreading wide,
Surely no jealous or repining thought
Would haunt his breast, that man is better wrought.
But with his thistles and his lot content,
He thus might give his sober triumph vent,
*By all that's asinine, I clearly see,*
*Men are but foolish beasts, as well as we!*

## *Translation of the Proem to Klopstock's Messiah.*

Mr. Editor,

The Germans are correct, when they insist, that their Messiah is not to be translated; but as I have heard many persons express their desire to see a poetical specimen, which may approach nearer the original than the vulgar prose translation, I have been induced to make the attempt.

Sing, my immortal soul, the wondrous deed
That wrought salvation out for sinful men;

By him achiev'd, who, cloth'd in human flesh,
The blest MESSIAH, dwelt awhile on earth,
And through the holy covenant, seal'd with blood,
To Adam's race restor'd the smiles of Heaven.
Thus the Eternal's will was done. In vain
Against the Son of God did Satan rise,
In vain did all Judea's wrath oppose;
He *did* the will of God! he sav'd mankind!—
Mysterious work! and may the poet's art
In dark and distant reverence dare approach
A theme known only to th' omniscient mind?
O thou, Creator-Spirit! in whose sight
Here in the stillness, I pour out my prayer,
Deign thou to consecrate my song! impart
Whate'er thy fullest inspiration gives;
Make it resembling thee; instinct alike
With matchless beauty, and immortal strength.
O give my song thy fire! spirit of truth,
That searchest the abyss of Deity,
And makest e'en the children of the dust,
Fit temples for thy residence below.
Pure be my heart! that so my trembling voice,
All mortal as it is, may reach the strain
That aims to sing a Deity appeased;
And that my tott'ring, hesitating steps,
The formidable way may safely pass.
Oh ye, who fain would know the gracious act
That glorified your race, when down to earth,
The world's Creator, as its Saviour came,
Come, listen to my song;—but chiefly ye,
The precious few, whom, as his bosom friends,
The hallow'd Mediator loves and owns.
Ye righteous souls, familiar with the depths
Of awful judgment's dark futurity,
Come, hear my song, and by your heavenly lives
Sing your own pæans to th' eternal Son.—
'Twas near that holy city,' &c.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN JOURNAL.

HAVING been lately desired by a gentleman to send him the poetical translation of Martial's Epigram VII. 60.; and Elphinstone's Martial not being in the library of the University, I took the liberty of asking a common friend of ours to

furnish me with one. I had some reluctance in making the request, as there is no poetry in the original epigram, and very little wit or humour. The gentleman to whom I applied, however, with his customary readiness to oblige, immediately undertook, and performed the task; and I confess that I was not a little surprised by the facility, liveliness, and pleasantry of his translation. I have obtained his leave to offer it for insertion in your work; and I have no doubt, that it will amuse all your readers, though its peculiar and characteristick merit can be estimated only by those, who are capable of comparing it with the original, and who perceive the difficulty of a poetical translation. The Epigram, it will be perceived, is addressed to Domitian, upon his clearing the city of Rome of the nuisances with which it was incommoded.

I will add, that the gentleman to whom I applied is the same who has furnished your work with the admirable translations from Boileau, which have appeared in it. I express a wish common to many others, when I say, that I hope he will go on and give us translations of the remaining satires and epistles of the French poet; and then collect the whole, and publish them in a separate volume.

—

*Martial. Epigram.* Lib. VII. 60.

Ad Cæsarem Domitianum; de urbe laxata.

Abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem;
Inque suo nullum limine limen erat.
Jussisti tenues, Germanice, crescere vicos;
Et modo quæ fuerat semita, facta via est.
Nulla catenatis pila est præcincta lagenis;
Nec prætor medio cogitur ire luto.
Stringitur in densa nec coeca novacula turba;
Occupat aut totas nigra popina vias.
Tonsor, caupo, coquus, lanius, sua limina servant;
Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit.

—

TRANSLATION.

To Domitian, on the city being cleared.

Purse proud and bold, th' intrusive huckster clown
Had almost robb'd us of this blessed town.
Thresholds had e'en their very thresholds lost,
Till thou, Germanicus, the ruin saw'st.

Thy hand enlarg'd the narrow alley's maze,
And paltry foot paths chang'd to spacious ways.
Pillars no more along the road are hung
With flagon signs, interminably strung,
No more the horrours of the miry street
Clog and defile the passing prætor's feet.
Nor, plying mid the city's throng his trade,
Wields now the barber his uncertain blade.*
Nor the black grog shop studs the city round,
Cook—butcher—grocer—all their place have found.
How chang'd from all that shock'd our eyes before,
'Tis Rome, fair Rome, a huckster's stall no more.

* —— *cæca novacula.* I must dissent from the author of the Delphin Edit. who after two explanations, still gives up the passage as dubious. The razor, it appears to me, Martial supposed to be blind, or apt to cut on account of the darkness and shadows unavoidable 'in densa turba.'

# MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

## BOOKS RELATING TO AMERICA.

*Magnalia Christi Americana, or the ecclesiastical history of New England, from its first planting in the year* 1620, *unto the year of our Lord* 1698, *in seven books.* I. *Antiquities; In seven chapters, with an appendix.* II. *Containing the lives of the governours and names of the magistrates of New England; in thirteen chapters, with an appendix.* III. *The lives of sixty famous divines, by whose ministry the churches of New England have been planted and continued.* IV. *An account of the University of Cambridge, in New England; in two parts. The first contains the laws, the benefactors, and vicissitudes of Harvard College; with remarks upon it. The second part contains the lives of some eminent persons educated in it.* V. *Acts and monuments of the faith and order in the churches of New England, passed in their synods; with historical remarks upon those venerable assemblies; and a great variety of church cases occurring, and resolved by the synods of those churches; in four parts.* VI. *A faithful record of many illustrious, wonderful providences, both of mercies and judgments, on divers persons in New England; in eight chapters.* VII. *The wars of the Lord; Being an history of the manifold afflictions and disturbances of the churches in New England, from their various adversaries, and the wonderful methods and mercies of God in their deliverance; in six chapters; to which is subjoined, an appendix of remarkable occurrences, which New England had in the wars with the Indian savages, from the year* 1688, *to the year* 1698. *By the reverend and learned Cotton Mather, M. A. and Pastor of the North Church in Boston, New England.* London; Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and three Crowns in Cheapside. 1702. fol. pp. 802.

In these restless, excursive, novelty seeking times, when whatever is long is tedious, and brevity even will not suffice

without variety; when the visitors of a publick library regard the massive tomes of former ages with a mixture of incredulity and wonder, and recoil from the thought of using them, with as much dismay, as our light infantry would from the iron helmet and the coat of mail of the Crusaders, or our nymphs with Grecian contours, from the Gothick envelopes of quilted petticoats and stiff brocades—in this effeminate period, in this age of duodecimos—a fair perusal of Mather's Magnalia is an achievement not to be slighted. It is a matter of notoriety, that to find a person hardy enough for this enterprize has long been a desideratum, and among the fortunate few, who have a taste for these pursuits, a certificate to this effect might readily be obtained from several, who have been desirous that the effort should be made, though they have themselves been appalled at the undertaking. Indeed, eight hundred folio pages, in close double columns, even of the most desirable matter, might well cause hesitation. What then must be the effect of a chaotick mass of history, biography, obsolete creeds, witchcraft, and Indian wars, interspersed with bad puns, and numerous quotations in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which rise up like so many decayed, hideous stumps to arrest the eye and deform the surface? Some noble motive must have stimulated and supported the mind in such an undertaking; the desire of a frivolous notoriety among cotemporaries would not have been sufficient; nothing but the anxiety for renown with after ages could have inspired the requisite strength. This, indeed, has given the impulse, and as Chateaubriand boasts in his Itinerary, that he was the *last* Frenchman, who would ever make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, so it may hereafter be said that the writer of this was the *last* (and possibly the first) individual, who, *bona fide*, perused in regular course the whole of Mather's Magnalia; and if any doubts had existed that great toil was necessary to the acquisition of fame, they would have been dispelled by this exertion.

There were several individuals of the author's family, who were men of learning and clergymen of some eminence. His father was a President of Harvard College. He himself was not deficient in industry, for he speaks of having published twenty other works besides this cumbrous volume, in addition to a very laborius course of preaching, and minute discharge of parochial duties. His learning was very considerable, and his credulity unlimited. Proofs of these may

be found in the works he quotes—those of the ecclesiastical historians, the reformers and their disciples, the rabbinical writers as well as the ancient classicks. He cites Molinæus, Scribanius, the 'spirited' Schlusselbergius, 'the renowned Quercetanus, the incomparable Borellius' and hundreds of others. He was a firm believer in witchcraft, alchymy, astrology, magick and Indian enchantments, and had no doubt of various aparitions and prodigies, which he describes. These propensities are calculated to make him a more amusing than authentick writer. Passages are occasionally found, which are not ill written, but his bad taste and pedantry are almost constantly occurring. Interesting hints of the peculiar state of society, among the first colonists, may be gleaned among his lives of the first magistrates and clergymen; yet his main object was the account of theological subtleties and disputes, and the common routine of fanaticism, as it appears in all its forms. His book is worth consulting by those, who wish to become acquainted with the character of our forefathers. Many of the author's faults were those of his age, and if he has not left us the best, he has at least furnished the largest work appertaining to our early history.

The volume commences with an 'attestation' by the learned John Higginson, pastor of the church in Salem, and successour to his father, Francis Higginson, who was the first pastor of the same church. This is followed by several recommendatory poems in Latin and English, and anagrams upon his name; a species of trifling that was then very fashionable. One of these, out of *Cottonus Matherus*, makes *Tu tantum Cohors es*, another *Tuos tecum ornasti*, &c. &c. This is followed by the author's general introduction, and a map of the country, which shews how much, or rather how little was known of it at the close of the seventeenth century. Each book has a separate title page, and is a distinct work, as they are all paged apart, and there is no running number for the whole volume. The first book is called *Antiquities, reporting the design whereon, the manner wherein, and the people whereby, the several colonies of New England were planted.* This book contains a brief sketch of the first discoveries, and the history of the first colonies, till settlements had been made in several towns on the sea coast from New York to Maine. In this first book the reader has a specimen of the author's superstition, and that of his contemporaries. Some individuals at New Haven, who were 'Londoners, or merchants,

and men of traffick and business, whose design was wholly to apply themselves unto trade,' met with various losses, and resolved to embark their remaining stock, and go to England. The vessel was never heard of, and a strange story respecting her obtained full credit. This is contained in a letter to Mr. Mather from the clergyman of New Haven, which is as follows.

'Reverend and Dear Sir,

'In compliance with your desires, I now give you the relation of that apparation of a ship in the air, which I have received from the most credible, judicious and curious surviving observers of it.

'In the year 1647, besides much other lading, a far more rich treasure of passengers, (five or six of which were persons of chief note and worth in New Haven) put themselves on board a new ship, built at Rhode Island, of about 150 tuns; but so walty, that the master, (Lamberton) often said she would prove their grave. In the month of January, cutting their way thro' much ice, on which they were accompanied with the reverend Mr. Davenport, besides many other friends, with many fears, as well as prayers and tears, they set sail. Mr. Davenport in prayer with an observable emphasis used these words, 'Lord, if it be thy pleasure to bury these our friends in the bottom of the sea, they are thine; save them! The spring following no tidings of these friends arrived with the ships from England; New Haven's heart began to fail her; this put the godly people on much prayer, both publick and private, That the Lord would (if it was his pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear friends, and prepare them with a suitable submission to his holy will. In June next ensuing, a great thunder storm arose out of the northwest; after which, (the hemisphere being serene) about an hour before sunset a ship of like dimensions with the aforesaid, with her canvass and colours abroad (tho' the wind northernly) appeared in the air coming up from our harbour's mouth, which lyes southward from the town, seemingly with her sails filled under a fresh gale, holding her course north, and continuing under observation, sailing against the wind for the space of half an hour. Many were drawn to behold this great work of God; yea, the very children cry'd out, There's a brave ship! At length, crouding up as far as there is usually water sufficient for such a vessel, and so near some of the spectators, as that they imagined a man might hurl a stone on board her, her maintop seemed to be blown off, but left hanging in the shrouds; then her missentop; then all her masting seemed blown away by the board; quickly after the hulk brought into a careen, she overset, and so vanished into a smoaky cloud, which in some time dissipated, leaving, as everywhere else, a clear air.

The admiring spectators could distinguish the several colours of each part, the principal rigging, and such proportions, as caused not only the generality of persons to say, This was the mould of their ship, and thus was her tragick end; but Mr. Davenport also in publick declared to this effect, That God had condescended, for the quieting of their afflicted spirits, this extraordinary account of his sovereign disposal of those for whom so many fervent prayers were made continually. Thus I am, sir, your humble servant,

'JAMES PIERPONT.

'Reader, there being yet living so many credible gentlemen, that were eye witnesses of this wonderful thing, I venture to publish it for a thing as undoubted, as 'tis wonderful.' B. I. p. 25.

The second book is entitled *Ecclesiarum Clypei*, in which the lives of some of the first magistrates, who had been shields of the church are 'perpetuated by the essay of Cotton Mather.' The longest and most laboured of these is his account of Sir William Phipps, of which some notice has been given in a previous article. The following extract from his life of John Winthrop, Governour of Massachusetts, discovers some traits of his character, and presents some features of the primitive manners of those times. This eminent magistrate, by his wisdom, firmness, moderation, and generosity, rendered the most essential services to the infant colony. His son, who was Governour of Connecticut, was one of the founders of the Royal Society in England, and contributed many papers to its memoirs. It is a fact not generally known, that it was at one time the intention of the founders to establish themselves in this country for the purpose of devoting themselves to science.

'Once more there was a time, when some active spirits among the deputies of the colony, by their endeavours not only to make themselves a court of judicature, but also to take away the negative by which the magistrates might check their votes, had like by over driving to have run the whole government into something too democratical. And if there were a town in Spain undermined by coneys, another town in Thrace destroyed by moles, a third in Greece ranversed by frogs, a fourth in Germany subverted by rats; I must on this occasion add, that there was a country in America like to be confounded by a swine. A certain stray sow being found, was claimed by two several persons with a claim so equally maintained on both sides, that after six or seven years hunting the business, from one court unto another, it was brought

at last into the general court, where the final determination was, that it was impossible to proceed unto any judgment in the case. However in the debate of this matter, the negative of the upper-house upon the lower in that court was brought upon the stage; and agitated with so hot a zeal, that a little more and all had been in the fire. In these agitations the governour was informed that an offence had been taken by some eminent persons, at certain passages in a discourse by him written thereabout; whereupon with his usual condescendency, when he next came into the general court, he made a speech of this import. 'I understand, that some have taken offence at something that I have lately written; which offence I desire to remove now, and begin this year in a reconciled state with you all. As for the matter of my writing, I had the concurrence of my brethren; it is a point of judgment which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and over again, by such light as God has given me, from the rules of religion, reason and custom; and I see no cause to retract any thing of it; wherefore I must enjoy my liberty in that, as you do yourselves. But for the manner, this, and all that was blameworthy in it, was wholly my own; and whatsoever I might allege for my own justification therein before men, I wave it, as now setting myself before another judgment seat. However, what I wrote was upon great provocation, and to vindicate myself and others from great aspersion; yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to allow any distemper of spirit in myself; and I doubt I have been too prodigal of my brethren's reputation; I might have maintained my cause without casting any blemish upon others, when I made that my conclusion, and now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case; it look'd as if I arrogated too much unto myself, and too little to others. And when I made that profession, that I would maintain what I wrote before all the world, though such words might modestly be spoken, yet I perceive an unbeseeming pride of my own heart breathing in them. For these failings I ask pardon both of God and man.'

> 'Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,
> Collectasq; fugat nubes, solemq; reducit.'

'This acknowledging disposition in the governour, made them all acknowledge, that he was truly a man of an excellent spirit. In fine, the victories of an Alexander, an Hannibal, or a Cæsar over other men, were not so glorious, as the victories of this great man over himself, which also at last prov'd victories over other men.' B. II. p. 12.

But the 'stormiest of all the trials,' which befel him, was in the year 1645, when he was deputy governour. 'There hapning certain seditious and mutinous practices in the town

of Hingham, the deputy governour as legally as prudently interposed his authority for the checking of them.' The people thought this interference an encroachment on their rights, and a petition of certain delinquents to the general court caused much uneasiness. But after investigation the governour's conduct was highly commended, and his accusers severely censured. He made an excellent speech on the occasion to the general court, which we are sorry our limits will not allow us to extract. It produced such an effect, however, that 'the people would not afterwards entrust the helm of the weather beaten bark to any other hands, but Mr. Winthrop's, until he died.'

'Indeed such was the mixture of distant qualities in him, as to make a most admirable temper; and his having a certain greatness of soul, which rendered him grave, generous, courageous, resolved, well-applied, and every way a gentleman in his deameanour, did not hinder him from taking sometimes the old Roman's way to avoid confusions, namely, *cedendo;* or from discouraging some things which are agreeable enough to most that wear the name of gentlemen. Hereof I will give no instances, but only oppose two passages of his life.

'In the year 1632, the governour, with his pastor, Mr. Wilson, and some other gentlemen, to settle a good understanding between the two colonies, travelled as far as Plymouth, more than forty miles, through an howling wilderness, no better accommodated in those early days than the princes that in Solomon's time saw servants on horseback, or than genus, and species in the old epigram, going on foot. The difficulty of the walk was abundantly compensated by the honourable, first reception, and then dismission, which they found from the rulers of Plymouth; and by the good correspondence thus established between the new colonies, who were like the floating bottels wearing this motto, *si collidimur, frangimur*. But there were at this time in Plymouth two ministers, leavened so far with the humours of the rigid separation, that they insisted vehemently upon the unlawfulness of calling any unregenerate man by the name of good man such an one, until by their indiscreet urging of this whimsey, the place began to be disquieted. The wiser people being troubled at these trifles, they took the opportunity of governour Winthrop's being there, to have the thing publickly propounded in the congregation; who in answer thereunto, distinguished between a theological and a moral goodness; adding, that when juries were first used in England, it was usual for the crier, after the names of persons fit for the service were called over, to bid them all, Attend, good men,

and true ; whence it grew to be a civil custom in the English nation, for neighbours living by one another, to call one another good man such an one. And it was pity now to make a stir about a civil custom, so innocently introduced. And that speech of Mr Winthrop's put a lasting stop to the little, idle, whimsical conceits, then beginning to grow obstreperous. Nevertheless there was one civil custom used in (and in few but) the English nation, which this gentleman did endeavour to abolish in this country ; and that was, the usage of drinking to one another. For although by drinking to one another, no more is meant than an act of courtesie, when one going to drink, does invite another to do so too, for the same ends with himself ; nevertheless the governour (not altogether unlike to Cleomenes, of whom 'tis reported by Plutarch, ακοντι ουδεις ποτηριον προσφερε, *Nolenti poculum nunquam præbuit*,) considered the impertinency and insignificancy of this usage, as to any of those ends that are usually pretended for it ; and that indeed it ordinarily served for no ends at all, but only to provoke persons unto unseasonable, and perhaps unreasonable drinking, and at last produce that abominable health drinking, which the fathers of old so severely rebuked in the pagans, and which the papists themselves do condemn, when their casuists pronounce it, *peccatum mortale, provocare ad æquales calices, et nefas respondere.* Wherefore in his own most hospitable house he left it off ; not out of any silly or stingy fancy, but meerly that by his example a greater temperance, with liberty of drinking, might be recommended, and sundry inconveniences in drinking avoided ; and his example accordingly began to be much followed by the sober people in this country, as it now also begins to be among persons of the highest rank in the English nation itself ; until an order of court came to be made against that ceremony in drinking, and then the old *wont* violently returned, with a *nitimur in vetitum.*' B. II. pp. 13, 14.

The third book is styled '*Polibius*, containing the lives of many learned, reverend and holy divines.' These he divides into three classes ; the first, containing seventy seven individuals, is composed of those 'who were in the actual exercise of the ministry when they left England ;' the second, fourteen 'whose education for their designed ministry not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the college was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels.' The foundation of the college took place before these were matured, and 'from that hour *Old England* had more ministers from *New*, than our New England had

since then from *Old.*' After the re-establishment of episcopacy in England, some nonconformist clergymen came out to this country, and these, fourteen in number, form his third class.

A perusal of the lives of these clergymen, and of the magistrates in the preceding book, with the occasional notice of other distinguished individuals, who accompanied them, will assist in forming a right idea of our forefathers. The colony which they founded is the most remarkable one recorded in history, and no people can boast of a more honourable origin, than those who are descended from them. There was no design of conquest, no project of trade, no pursuit of wealth, which prompted their emigration; the enjoyment of religious liberty was the principal motive. Those, who engaged in this pursuit, were gentlemen of the purest character and most respectable standing, and clergymen, who were among the most learned scholars in their country. They rather sacrificed fortune than sought it; '*some of the ministers*, and many of the gentlemen, that came over with the ministers, were persons of considerable estates.' This character of the founders was always a subject of just pride with their successours. In his remarks upon the first class the author says, 'The ministers and christians, by whom New England was first planted, were a chosen company of men; picked out of, perhaps, all the countries in England, and this by no human contrivance, but by a strange work of God upon the spirits of men that were no ways acquainted with one another, inspiring them, as one man, to secede into a wilderness, they knew not where, and suffer in that wilderness they knew not what. It was a reasonable expression once used by that eminent person, the present lieutenant governour of New England, in a very great assembly, *God sifted three nations, that he might bring choice grain into the wilderness.*'

It was natural when resistance was made to the high toned episcopacy and persecuting policy of Laud and his coadjutors, that the most distinguished of those who were nonconformists should be selected for victims, some of the most learned scholars of the two universities, but particularly Cambridge, were turned out of their livings and forbid preaching, and these came over to this country. Many gentlemen, who sympathized with them, and revolted at tyranny, accompanied them. Among these first colonists, however, were some persons of different tenets, though the greater part

were rigid puritans, who flying themselves from persecution, soon became as intolerant of all who differed from them, as Laud himself. The author thus mentions one of these. 'There were also some godly episcopalians; among whom has been commonly reckoned Mr. Blackstone, who by happening to sleep first in an hovel, upon a point of land there, [Boston] laid claim to all the ground, whereupon there now stands the metropolis of the whole English America, until the inhabitants gave him satisfaction. This man was of a particular humour, and he would never join himself to any of our churches, giving this reason for it; I came from England because I did not like the *Lord Bishops;* but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the *Lord Brethren.*' It thus appears that Mr. Blackstone was the first person who slept on the ground, now occupied by Boston. The founder of the town, or in the peculiar phrase of our country, the first settler, was Isaac Johnstone Esq. who married the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. His house stood some where in what is now Tremont Street, probably near the house now standing in that street, built by Sir Henry Vane, doubtless the most ancient dwelling house in the United States. Lady Arabella Johnstone died early, and her husband, deeply affected by her loss, did not long survive her. He was buried in the chapel burying place, and as he was greatly beloved by the people, they wished to be buried near him, and this was the origin of that place of interment.

That exaltation of mind, that religious fanaticism, which stimulated the first settlers, was perhaps necessary to the solid establishment of the colony. The poverty of the soil, severity of the climate, the horrours of Indian hostility, the grief at a separation from friends and a country they loved, of which several affecting proofs are given in the history of some of these individuals, were all calculated to try the resolution of men, who had left enviable situations. The difficulties they had to encounter from these sources, would have disheartened them, if their object had been wealth; and the first attempts would probably have failed. But if the climate was cold, their hearts were warmed with zeal; and if the soil was poor, their harvest was to be reaped in heaven; if the tomahawk of the Indian was suspended over their heads, they were willing to be martyrs. Religion and education were their almost exclusive concerns. Their preservation they constantly attributed to the special providence of God;

and their constant belief of his particular interposition was useful in its effects; though others perhaps, in many cases at least, might account for the result by merely natural causes. They believed that their success was the reward of their religious devotion, and that other colonies failed when they were undertaken from a different motive. The author gives an anecdote to this effect. He alludes to some of the abortive attempts at settling the coast of Maine.

'There were more than a few attempts of the English, to people and improve the parts of New England, which were to the northward of New Plymouth; but the designs of those attempts being aimed no higher than the advancement of some worldly interests, a constant series of disasters has confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity, and that plantation, though perhaps it has had more adversaries than perhaps any one upon earth; yet having obtained help from God, it continues to this day. There have been very fine settlements in the northeast regions; but what is become of them? I have heard that one of our ministers once preaching to a congregation there urged them to consider themselves a religious people from this consideration, *that otherwise they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness;* whereupon a well known person then in the assembly cried out, *Sir, you are mistaken, you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our main end was to catch fish.*'

The congregational church government was defined, in answer to a question, to be 'a speaking aristocracy, in the face of a silent democracy.' They attempted to establish a species of theocracy, and were constantly comparing themselves to the chosen people of God; whatever was parallel in their situation was remarked, and as they borrowed almost all their christian names from the old testament, so its harsh spirit and austere observances, joined to the most abstruse doctrines in the new, formed the basis of their religion. Mr. Cotton, one of the most celebrated of the early divines, arrived at Boston in 1633, and though several churches were already organized, 'he found the whole country in a perplexed and divided state as to their civil constitution;' when having preached a sermon at particular desire, which had a considerable effect on the minds of men, 'it was requested, that he would from the laws wherewith God governed his ancient people, form an abstract of such as were of a moral and lasting equity, which he performed as acceptably as judiciously. But inasmcuh as

very much of an Athenian democracy was in the mould of the government by the royal charter, which was then acted upon, Mr. Cotton effectually recommended it unto them, that none should be electors nor elected therein except such as were *visible subjects* of our Lord Jesus Christ, personally confederated in our churches. In these, and many other ways, he propounded unto them an endeavour after a theocracy, as near as might be to that which was the glory of Israel, the peculiar people.'

Each biography of these divines is terminated with an epitaph in English or Latin. The one on Mr. Thomas Thatcher is a curiosty, since it is partly in Latin and partly in Greek verse, and written by an Indian youth, then a senior sophister at Cambridge. In the life of Mr. John Warham, who was pastor of Windham, in Connecticut, we are told that he was the first minister, who preached with notes in this country, 'a practice which has been decried by many good men, besides fanaticks, in the present age, and many poor and weak prejudices against it have been pretended.' The author's rage for punning always appears, when a name will admit of it; thus Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Oakes excite this propensity. To give an example of it, we shall extract his account of Mr. Partridge, as it is short; it will be seen that he follows him even in his epitaph.

'When David was driven from his friends into the wilderness, he made this pathetical representation of his condition, 'Twas as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains. Among the many worthy persons who were presecuted into an American wilderness, for their fidelity to the ecclesiastical kingdom of our true David, there was one that bore the name, as well as the state, of an hunted patridge. What befel him, was, as Bede saith of what was done by Fælix, *Juxta nominis sui sacramentum.*

'This was Mr. Ralph Partridge, who for no fault but the delicacy of his good spirit, being distressed by the ecclesiastical setters, had no defence, neither of beak, nor claw, but a flight over the ocean.

'The place where he took covert, was the colony of Plymouth, and the town of Duxbury in that colony.

'This Partridge had not only the innocency of the dove, conspicuous in his blameless and pious life, which made him very acceptable in his conversation; but also the loftiness of an eagle, in the great soar of his intellectual abilities. There are some interpreters, who understanding church officers by the living creatures,

in the fourth chapter of the Apocalypse, will have the teacher to be intended by the eagle there, for his quick insite into remote and hidden things. The church of Duxbury had such an eagle in their Partridge, when they enjoyed such a teacher.

'There was one singular instance of a weaned spirit, whereby he signalized himself unto the churches of God. That was this—There was a time, when most of the ministers in the colony of Plymouth left the colony, upon the discouragement which the want of a competent maintenance among the needy and froward inhabitants, gave unto them. Nevertheless Mr. Partridge was, not withstanding the paucity and the poverty of his congregation, so afraid of being any thing that looked like a bird wandring from his nest, that he remained with his poor people, till he took wing to become a bird of paradise, along with the winged seraphim of Heaven. *Epitaph;* avolavit!'

The longest article in this book is the life of the pious, primitive, benevolent Eliot, who has been called the Apostle to the Indians. He was very simple in his manners, wore a leathern girdle about his loins, and always reproved every thing like show in dress. The story of his aversion to long hair and the serious manner in which he declaimed against the fashion of men in particular, wearing 'their hair with a luxurious, delicate, feminine prolixity,' we believe is generally known. He interested himself greatly about the Indians; and, in order to instruct them, acquired their uncouth language, composed a grammar of it, which is now excessively scarce, perhaps not to be found. He also *translated the bible* into their language, copies of which exist in our publick libraries.* By his exertions, several regular churches were instituted among them, and many schools in which the children were taught to read and write their own language, and their preachers, also, made use of it. All this labour is lost; the language and the savages have become extinct, for the wretched remnants of a mongrel breed, which exist in the colonies at Marshpee and Martha's Vineyard, have no traces of their ancestors, but their sloth and improvidence. The following extract shews his mode of acquiring the language.

'The first step which he judged necessary now to be taken by him, was to learn the Indian language; for he saw them so stupid

* An American literary traveller lately visiting a very extensive library in Germany, was asked by the librarian to name some book, which was not in it. He inquired for *Eliot's Indian Bible;* the librarian, with some triumph immediately brought him a copy.

and senseless, that they would never do so much as inquire after the religion of the strangers now come into their country, much less would they so far imitate us, as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be partakers of any spiritual advantage by us; unless we could first address them in a language of their own. Behold, new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable Eliot! He hires a native to teach him this exotick language, and with a laborious care and skill, reduces it into a grammar, which afterwards he published. There is a letter or two of our alphabet, which the Indians never had in theirs; tho' there were enough of the dog in their temper, there can scarce be found an R in their language; (any more than in the language of the Chinese, or of the Greenlanders) save that the Indians to the northward, who have a peculiar dialect, pronounce an R where an N is pronounced by our Indians; but if their alphabet be short, I am sure the words composed of it are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world; they are *Sesquipedalia Verba*, of which their *linguo* is composed; one would think, they had been growing ever since Babel unto the dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, if my reader will count how many letters there are in this one word, *Nummatchekodtantamoonganunnonash*, when he has done, for his reward I'll tell him, it signifies no more in English, than *our lusts*, and if I were to translate, *our loves*, it must be nothing shorter than *Noowomantammoooonkanunonnash*. Or, to give my reader a longer word than either of these, *Kummogkodonattoottummooetiteaongannunnonash*, is in English, *our question;* but I pray, sir, count the letters! Nor do we find in all this language the least affinity to, or derivation from any European speech that we are acquainted with. I know not what thoughts it will produce in my reader, when I inform him, that once finding that the Dæmons in a possessed young woman, understood the Latin and Greek and Hebrew languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of this Indian language, and the Dæmons did seem as if they did not understand it. This tedious language our Eliot (the Anagram of whose name was *Toile*) quickly became a master of; he employed a witty Indian, who also spoke English well, for his assistance in it; and compiling some discourses by his help, he would single out a word, a noun, a verb, and pursue it through all its variations; having finished his grammar, at the close he writes, 'Prayers and pains through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing!' And being by his prayers and pains thus furnished, he set himself in the year 1646 to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, among these desolate outcasts.'

The fourth book is called *Sal Gentium*, and is a history of the University, with an account of some of the eminent 'per-

sons, who were plants of renown growing in that nursery.' One of his mottos is taken from *Coulæus de America.*

'Ingenium, pietas, artes, ac bellica virtus,
Huc profugæ venient, et regna illustria condent;
Et domina his virtus erit, et fortuna ministra.'

The influence of this seminary has been most salutary and important; and for this establishment, which was founded by our forefathers in the midst of dangers and privations of every kind, we owe them the greatest veneration. It was commenced under the auspices of some of the ablest scholars of the English Universities, whose influence in the cultivation of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew was long felt; though constantly growing in strength, the talents engaged in it declined after a certain period. It revived again previous to the revolution, and produced some able scholars. The troubles incident to that epoch interrupted its progress. For many years past it has been gradually recovering, and rising to a higher standard; and we may now presume on its soon rivalling in advantages for every branch of study many of the most celebrated Universities of Europe.

An account is given of its origin, its ancient statutes in Latin, a list of graduates to the year 1698, the lives of its first Presidents, and of some of the persons who had been educated there. Mr. Oakes was the first President, who was a graduate of the College. Mr. Hoar was the second, and his history proves that the difficulty of governing a College is no novelty. He was elected to the place after his return from England, where he married the doughter of Lord Lisle. The scholars became mutinous, and the troubles went so far, that he resigned. His ill usage preyed upon him, and he died a year after wards, and was buried at Braintree. Under his Presidency a contribution of near two thousand pounds was raised in the province, and a new edifice was added.

The fifth book is entitled *Acts and Monuments*, containing 'the Faith and the Order in the churches of New England, agreed by the Elders and Messengers of the churches assembled in Synods.' One of his mottos is from Hilarion, *Periculosum nobis ac miserabile est, tot fides existere quot voluntates, et tot nobis Doctrinas esse, quot mores.* The experience of modern times has fully shewn that the *periculosum* is a mistake, whatever the *miserabile* may be. This book is very unprofitable read-

ing. It is like travelling over an old road, where the few faces you meet are at once sour and gloomy, caused by the sharp points, obscure windings, and uneasy roughness of the way, and not a little increased by observing the numbers, who travelling the new and smooth turnpike, escape much of the labour and difficulty of the journey.

The sixth book is called *Thaumaturgus vel,* (certain Hebrew words which we waive copying) *Liber memorabilium.* This is extremely miscellaneous, containing accounts of escapes from shipwreck, Indian captivity, thunder and lightning; relating remarkable conversions, judgments of God, executions, and dying speeches of criminals, preternatural occurrences, witchcraft, conversion of Indians, and one or two sermons 'improving' these subjects. The chapter, 'relating remarkables done by thunder,' is called *Ceraunia,* and a sermon on the same topick, *Brontologia sacra.* He thinks, ''Tis very likely, that the evil angels may have a particular energy and employment, often times in the mischiefs done by thunder;' and that, ''tis no heresie or blasphemy to think that the prince of the power of the air, hath as good skill in chymistry as goes to the making of *Aurum Fulminans.*'

The seventh book is entitled *Ecclesiarum Prœlia, or a book of the wars of the Lord.* The first chapter of this, which is headed, '*Mille nocendi artes*; or some general heads of temptation with which the churches of New England have been exercised,' has this well chosen motto from Tertullian; *Habet et Ecclesia dies caniculares.* The only church, which was exactly right, was the true congregational, which was 'pestered on one side by the rigid, high flown *Presbyterians,* on the other by the separating, *Morellian,* and *Brownistical Independents.*' What a world of difficulty would have been saved, if they had adopted the principle, which the author says, in his mention of Rhode Island, is the only one he could find, upon which the founders of that colony were agreed; 'that they were to give one another no disturbance in the exercise of religion.' As this was the only spot where toleration then had a resting place, it naturally became the resort of every sect, which was not strong enough to secure a fortress to itself, from which the standard of persecution might be displayed. He says, 'that it was a perfect *Colluvies* of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, every thing in the world but Roman Catholicks, and real Christians, though of the latter, I hope there have been

more than of the former among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of opinionists!'

The fourth chapter is headed '*Ignes Fatui*, or the molestations given to the churches of New England, by that odd sect of people called Quakers; and some uncomfortable occurrents relating to a sect of other and better people.' He cautions the world against believing the stories of the Quakers about New England persecutions, 'because the Quakers have in print complained of a New England persecution upon two women of their sect, who came stark naked as ever they were born, into our publick assemblies, and they were (Baggages that they were!) adjudged unto the whipping post for that piece of devilism.' An almanack was published at Philadelphia for the year 1694, 'with this article of chronology,'—

'Since the English in New England hanged their countrymen for religion,' - - - - - years 36

To which he adds,—

'Since at Philadelphia some did little less, by taking away goods and imprisoning some, and concerning others without trial for religious dissent,' - - - years 3

The real excuse for our ancestors, (for their conduct needs one,) is, that among the Quakers of that day were many bewildered, furious fanaticks, who were a greater annoyance by the extravagance of their actions, than by the strangeness of their doctrines. They were, while renouncing war, making a wild use of spiritual weapons. The fermentation has long since worked off and left them, a quiet, respectable, useful sect. It is a little singular, that although many of them are scattered over Massachusetts, they have no church in Boston. This is to be regretted, for though it may be doubted, perhaps, whether the world would be essentially improved, if it were wholly composed of Quakers, yet a sprinkling of them has a good tendency. As they renounce learning, refinement and military employment, they cannot necessarily hold the highest rank in society under its present organization; but their gentleness, neatness, sobriety, industry and integrity, make them valuable members, and contribute much to its harmony and happiness.

A considerable part of this book is occupied with an account of Indian wars, which he calls, a *decennium luctuosum*. The atrocious and shocking barbarities of savage warfare,

sicken the heart, almost too much to admire the romantick bravery, and wonderful fortitude, which some of the events discover among the early settlers, who were exposed to their frightful ravages. These accounts relate principally to the wars in the eastern settlements, in which the savages were instigated and aided by the French. Their captives were generally carried to Canada, and several of them were ransomed from captivity by the charity of the inhabitants.

A brief, though the reader may think it a long sketch of Mather's Magnalia, has here been given. To those who are interested in the early history of our country, it may be well to remark, that for accuracy in historical occurrences, they will do well to rely upon other authorities; but if they wish to obtain a general view of the state of society and manners, they will probably no where find so many materials for this purpose, as in the work of this credulous pedantick, and garrulous writer.

## INTELLIGENCE AND REMARKS.

*Dr. Holmes' Annals; from the German.*—In a number of Eichhorn's Journal, printed at Göttingen in April 1817, we find the following notice of Dr. Holmes' Annals, by which it appears, that this excellent work is very generally known abroad, and no less highly esteemed, than in the country whose history it details with so much perspicuity and accuracy. The notice, which we translate, is a review of the second English edition, 'printed in London in the year 1813, with additions and corrections by the author.'

This is the first attempt at an entire history of America. It begins, as is seen by the title, with the discovery of Columbus in the year 1492, and comes down to the year 1806. The author has applied himself with great industry to all the common sources of information; and, as far as was practicable, has consulted his authorities in the original. In the history of the earlier times we find all the best Spanish, French, Latin, and English historians used as authorities, and such parts extracted, as were suited to his purpose. Much additional information might undoubtedly be obtained by a more free access to the Spanish Colonial Archives, than the jealousy of the Spaniards has as yet allowed.

The author rightly passes over the pretended discovery of America by the Welch Prince, Madoc, son of Gwyneth, king of Wales.

This event has been supposed to have taken place in the year 1170; but the story is now generally given up to the province of poetry, and has already been made the subject of an early epick poem by the present poet laureate, Southey. The author has said as little respecting the discovery before Columbus, by the aborigines, on which there is a treatise by Belknap. It might perhaps have answered some good purpose, however, to hint at the accounts of the early voyages of the Normans to America.

The author has confined himself to a simple narrative of the most important and interesting events in chronological order from the time of Columbus. It would have been gratifying, perhaps, to have a short account of events previous to this period, particularly such as relate to Peru and Mexico, the ancient history of which has received so many beautiful illustrations from Baron Humboldt. But the most valuable part of the work before us is that, which embraces the early history of New England. Here the author seems to have had access, not only to a very complete collection of printed books, but also to a large number of manuscripts, as well in the possession of private individuals, as publick libraries. In addition to these, he derived no inconsiderable advantage from such oral accounts as he was enabled to obtain from various sources. From these manuscripts has been published by the government of Massachusetts, and under the care of the historical society of Boston, the history of Hubbard, whose Indian Wars are already known. In the steeple of one of the churches in Boston has lately been found the continuation of Governour Winthrop's Journal, a very important early document.

After the history of the first settlement of New England, the compact but comprehensive account of the American Revolution is worthy of particular notice. The advantages, which the author derived from his nearness to the first theatre of the revolution, and his personal acquaintance with many of the actors in the drama, who were still living at the time he wrote, appear sufficiently obvious; and together with the impartiality, the love of truth and honesty, which are predominant traits throughout the whole, they give a high value to this part of the work. The best evidence of the author's merits in this respect, is the high approbation his work has received in England.

The English edition before us is published from a copy amended by the additions and corrections of the author. With singular modesty, it is true, he brings forward his book as intended only for a collection of hints and references to those, who are desirous of pursuing the study of American history; but we are persuaded no one will read it, however great an adept he may be in this department of knowledge, who will not allow a very high degree of merit to the learned author.

The history, after the revolutionary war, is comprised within a narrow compass. The work is closed with a collection of tables, a copious index, and a catalogue of the books and manuscripts, which had been consulted. The manuscripts consisted of twenty five folio and quarto volumes, fifteen of which composed the diary of the celebrated President Stiles

We learn from private accounts, that Dr. Holmes is at present engaged in an ecclesiastical history of New England. This is an undertaking in which his historical impartiality and love of truth will appear to great advantage. A complete history of the whole continent of America is not at present to be expected; but histories of certain portions may be looked for with more certainty. Joel Barlow, formerly American ambassador to France, who died in Poland, on a journey to Wilna, in the year 1812, is said to have been engaged in a history of the United States. We are at present looking forward with high expectation to a similar work by Mr. Walsh, who is universally known in England and America by his letter on the Spirit of the French Government. The history of the United States by Ramsay, continued by President Smith, if it is not distinguished for its philosophical worth, is nevertheless very valuable for the mass of readers. It is said, that Professor Brown of Edinburgh has long been engaged in collecting materials for an universal history of the aboriginal tribes in America.

*University of Göttingen.*—At this university there are at present more than *forty* professors, *one thousand* students, from all parts of the world, and a library of *two hundred thousand* volumes. The mode of instruction is entirely by lectures from the professors. The system of instruction is divided into four departments, Divinity, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Philosophy. A professor is chosen into one of these departments, and not to any particular branch of either; and he is allowed to lecture on any subject, that comes within the department into which he is chosen. There are no recitations or examinations, and the students are allowed to attend such lectures as they please, and at such times as they please. Each professor has a small salary, but he receives, besides this, a louis d'or a course from every student who attends his lectures. When a professor becomes distinguished in any university, he is chosen into another, with the offer of a higher salary. If he accepts the new appointment, it often happens, that his own university raises his salary in order to retain him; so that every professor in Germany has the double motive of interest and ambition to prompt him to exertion. The consequence is, that the universities in Germany can boast a more

learned and active body of professors, than can be found in any other country. They manifest a zeal and interest, which animate their pupils and excite them to ardent study and close research. Every lecture continues precisely an hour. The professor reads, or expounds a text book, and the students have their port folios before them, in which they take elaborate notes, and mark the references of the professor to other authors for illustration. They peruse these notes between the times of lecturing, consult the authors referred to, and make themselves familiar with the subject.

We think the following abstract may be acceptable to some of our readers, as it gives an accurate view of the course of instruction, which has been pursued during the past season at Göttingen. We have translated it from the 'Catalogus Prælectionum,' published there in April 1817.

Department of Theology. Professor *Planck* lectures on the first part of ecclesiastical history; and history of dogmaticks.—*Staeudlin* on moral theology; and dogmatick theology in relation to its history.—*Pott* on the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke; grammar of the Hebrew language.

Law. *Böhmer* on ecclesiastical law; institutes of the civil law.—*Meister* on the system of Pandects; criminal law.—*Hugo* on the history and antiquities of Roman law; literary history of law; universal law in use; institutes of the Roman law in use.—*Bauer* on the institutes of civil law; law of nature; feudal law; criminal law; criminal process and art of defending criminals.—*Heise* on German law; principles of the Roman law respecting inheritance and ambassadors; commercial law.—*Eichhorn* on the history of Germany; publick law of those states which are united in the German league.—*Bergmann* on ecclesiastical law; theory of civil process.

Medicine. *Blumenbach* on physiology; and natural history.—*Stromeyer* on special pathology; and the art of healing diseases.—*Osiander* on obstetricks; and forensick medicine.—*Himly* on nosology and the art of healing; clinical medicine.—*Schrader* on botany; economical botany; medical botany.—*Langenbeck* on the first part of surgery; diseases of the eye; clinical surgery.—*F. Stromeyer* on theoretick and experimental chemistry; chemical analysis; practical chemistry; pharmacy.

Philosophy. *Eichhorn* on the Epistles of the New Testament; pentateuch; elements of the Syriack language.—*Reuss* on universal history of literature.—*Tychsen* on the Acts of the Apostles and the book of John; book of Psalms; elements of the

Arabick language.—*Mitscherlich* on Roman literature; style of Horace, his Epistles and Art of Poetry; Theocritus.—*Heeren* on geography and ethnography; history of modern Europe and its colonies; ancient history.—*Sartorius* on the statisticks of the principal kingdoms in Europe; general politicks.—*Bouterwek* on metaphysicks in relation to divinity; general practical philosophy and ethicks; general history of philosophy.—*Mayer* on modes of measuring angles; experimental philosophy.—*Schulze* on logick, and psychology.—*Thibaut* on the pure mathematicks; differential and integral calculus; introduction to practical geometry.—*Gauss* on the elements of theoretical astronomy; practical astronomy and the construction and use of instruments.—*Hausmann* on geognosy; crystallography; mineralogy; technology.—*Fiorillo* on the history of the fine arts with practical illustrations.—*Harding* on the elements of astronomy; various methods of ascertaining time and geographical positions.—*Benecke* on the elements of the English language; and the modern literature of Germany and England.—*Bunsen* on physical geography; elements of the Spanish and Italian languages.—*Welcker* on philology; history of ancient art; Clouds and Frogs of Aristophanes.—*Dissen* on philology, illustrated by the satires of Persius; Cicero de oratore; the Greek syntax, with explanations of the metres of the ancient poets.

Besides those here enumerated, seven professors give what are called *extraordinary lectures* on different subjects in the four departments. The languages and literature of all the polite nations in Europe are taught, as well as dancing, horsemanship, and the military art.

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*Poison Tree of Java.*—The literary and scientifick world has rarely been more grossly imposed upon, than by the account of the *Pohon Oopas*, or, as it is commonly written, the *Bohon Upas*, published in Holland in 1780. The history and origin of this celebrated forgery are still a mystery. The account came out under the name of one Foersch, a surgeon in the Dutch East India Company's service, and was published in the different publick journals in almost all the languages in Europe. This account, as it relates to the situation of the poison tree, its desolating effects on the country around, the mode of punishing criminals by sending them on the fatal errand of procuring its gums, and the description of the poison, has been proved to be palpably false. It has even been doubted lately, whether a tree possessing poisonous qualities of any description actually existed in Java. We have been told by gentlemen of respectability and intelligence, who have been in various parts of the island, and have made very

particular inquiries of the natives, as well as of Europeans residing there, that they were never able to obtain any knowledge of such a tree. It appears from later discoveries, however, that a tree, which produces a powerful poison, is found on the eastern extremity of the island. Dr. Horsfield, who made a tour through the island for the purpose of inquiries into its botany and natural history, wrote a letter to Lieutenant Governour Raffles, which was published in the Batavian Transactions for 1814, and afterward in the Annals of Philosophy, in which he gives an account of the tree, the manner of procuring the poison, and the results of a series of experiments, which he made with it on a great number of living animals.

He found the tree only on the eastern extremity of the island, and not very abundantly even there. It is called *Antshar* by the natives. The trunk grows smooth and straight till it arrives to the height of from sixty to eighty feet, when branches spring out horizontally and form a sort of hemispherical crown. When punctured, the bark emits copiously a sort of milky juice, which by a kind of preparation is converted into a deadly poison. A wound inflicted by an instrument dipped in this substance causes almost instant death. Many of the animals, which were wounded by a slight prick only in the skin, died within eight minutes, others continued fifteen, and scarcely one lived more than half an hour. It is used by the natives of Macassar and the neighbouring islands to poison their arrows. Rumphius, as related in his works, witnessed the effect of these arrows in the attack of the natives of Macassar on Amboina, about the year 1650. Dr. Horsfield found that the juice, as it came from the tree, produced effects nearly as fatal on small animals, as that, which had gone through a preparation by the natives. The tree has no bad effects on the atmosphere around it. Vegetation is healthful and luxuriant even at its roots; and the ivy sometimes runs up its trunk.

*Canal across the Isthmus of Cape Cod.*—This important enterprize is now a subject of publick attention, and some hopes are entertained that it may be carried into effect. It has been contemplated at different times for about a hundred and fifty years. It was particularly agitated under the auspices of the enlightened Governour Bowdoin in 1776, when a survey and estimate were made by Mr. Machin, a skilful English engineer, afterwards employed by General Washington in the army. In 1791 the consideration of it was resumed at the instigation of some publick spirited merchants of Boston, when a survey and plan were made by Judge Winthrop of Cambridge, and a survey, map of the ground on a large scale, and estimate by Mr. Hills, a skilful engineer. In

1801, a survey and estimate were made by Mr. Batchelor. Mr. Machin, Judge Winthrop and Mr. Batchelor agree in almost every point, with respect to the plan of the work, and where Mr. Hills differs from them, which is, in making the southern entrance of the canal in Buttermilk, instead of Buzzard's Bay, he is evidently wrong. The estimates of these different persons, taking into view the value of money at the time they were made, do not essentially vary. The expense of a canal for vessels drawing twelve feet of water, with piers to form an artificial harbour in Barnstable Bay, is estimated at about 400,000 dollars. Its importance in respect to the West India trade of Massachusetts; to the immensely important and rapidly increasing coasting trade of the United States; and its obvious and most essential utility in time of war, make it altogether more extensively interesting, than any other similar improvement in the United States. There are fewer obstacles in the way of its execution, and more facilities than ever attended any work of equal magnitude. Its value to the publick, under two great heads, first humanity, by the saving of many lives and much suffering; secondly, property, by a great diminution of risk, and prevention of losses, can hardly be estimated. Since it was last contemplated, many improvements have taken place, such as the certainty of clearing away sand at its mouth, the use of steam tow boats to save horses, and towing path &c. &c. which will greatly facilitate its execution. No statement of facts has yet been laid before the publick, on which to ground a satisfactory opinion of the advantages likely to result from the construction of this canal, or the profits that would probably accrue to those who might invest their property in it. A committee has been appointed to investigate the subject, and their report will probably supply the requisite information.

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*Day's Mathematicks*.—Four parts of this course have been published. They comprehend Algebra, Plane Trigonometry, Geometry applied to the mensuration of superficies and solids, Navigation and Surveying, including the mensuration of heights and distances. These treatises are intended to be very elementary,—to introduce the student, by gradual and easy steps, to the first principles of these branches. The difficulty which has attended the use of books, that have been adopted from abroad, is, that they suppose too much in the learner. They are designed for such as have already been initiated in these studies; whereas, with us mathematicks hitherto can scarcely be said to have made a part of the early instruction of those, who are destined for a publick education. The consequence is, that it has been attended with more difficulty and less success, than is fairly to be as-

cribed to the nature of the study. Mr. Day has guarded against this evil. He has adapted his course of mathematicks to the state of information of the student, at the time of his matriculation, and he makes him acquainted with as much of the several branches of which he treats, as it has been thought best to require at the colleges in this country. In many respects indeed he has very judiciously enlarged upon the plan, which has generally been adopted. He explains the construction of the tables of natural sines &c. and introduces the learner to some of the more important and interesting cases of the application of algebra to geometry and trigonometry. The materials of this work are thought to be well selected and well arranged. The style is neat and perspicuous, and what is no common praise in publications of this kind in this country, the printing is accurate and well executed. These treatises have most of them been proved and found to answer the purpose intended by the author. They may be regarded as a valuable acquisition to the scanty stock of elementary books on the exact sciences. The author's plan embraced, in addition to the above, Conick Sections, Sphericks and Fluxions. It is hoped that his labours will not be long interrupted, by his elevation to the office of President of the college, which owes so much to his services.

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*Introduction to Algebra.*—An introduction to arithmetick and algebra, comprehending the fundamental rules, Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, Involution and Evolution, Proportion, Arithmetical and Geometrical Progression &c. considered with reference to numbers and to algebraick symbols, together with a solution of the more simple algebraick questions, selected from the Algebra of Euler, is now in the University Press, and will soon be published.

This work contains the mathematicks required for admission to the University at Cambridge, by a regulation published in the last number of the North American Review, and will be used in the examination of candidates for admission.

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*Translation of Laplace's Mécanique Céleste.*—We understand, that this great work, which has been the admiration of the first mathematicians abroad, is now rendered into English by the Hon. Mr. Bowditch, with very copious notes and illustrations; and we have no doubt from the rare talents of the translator, his familiar acquaintance with the subject, his habits of accuracy and deep research, that he has executed the task in a manner that would, if known, do him very great credit. We earnestly hope, that this valuable treasure will not long be withheld from the publick—that

while minor efforts find so much favour and encouragement, our liberal and enlightened citizens will feel an interest in an undertaking of such magnitude, and such singular difficulty—and which promises so much for the honour of our country, and the benefit of science.

*Expedition to the Niger.*—The publick has already been informed of the total failure of the late expeditions, fitted out by the British government, to explore the interiour of Africa. The following letters throw some light on the subject, particularly respecting the expedition intended for the Niger. They were sent from Senegal to William S. Shaw, Esq. of Boston, by whose politeness we are allowed to publish them.

'Dear sir, *Senegal, Sept.* 5, 1817.

'Finding nothing here now worthy of your acceptance, and thinking an account of the English expedition intended for the Interiour would be interesting, I requested a French friend of mine, who was some time with Capt. Campbell about the coast last year, before the expedition started, and was at Sierra Leone when it returned, to give me an account of particulars. I am not certain that entire confidence can be placed in his account, though he had every means of being rightly informed. It seems the expedition started from the banks of the Rio Nunez in February, that they proceeded about a hundred and fifty miles, when the chief of the country prevented their proceeding farther, under some feigned pretext. After stopping there about four months, and almost all the animals having died, and seeing no prospect of being allowed to proceed, Capt. Campbell determined on endeavouring to regain the Rio Nunez, that he might save from pillage and total loss such articles of value as remained. He died in two days after arriving at the point he started from, and was buried by the side of his friend, Major Peddie. The circumstances attending the loss of officers were somewhat singular. Major Peddie and Capt. M'Rea died before they began their march; Capt. Campbell and a Mons. Comer, a French naturalist, who was with them, died after their return, and they were all buried near each other. Though the loss was great in officers, it was very small on the part of the men—two only were lost on the journey, one of whom was drowned. Of over two hundred animals which they took with them, three only, I think, arrived again on the bank of the Rio Nunez. The persons composing the expedition are now at Sierra Leone, and meditate another attempt. Lieut. Stoko, of the navy, is now the senior officer. He was on the lakes attached to Sir James Yeo, but was made

prisoner, and was since then in our back country. He is gone with three men to visit a powerful chief at Peembo, to endeavour to sesure his protection. If he succeeds, another attempt will be made, but under the most unfavourable circumstances, as most of the men are discouraged.

The following is a translation of a letter containing the French account above mentioned.

Dear Sir, *Senegal, Sept.* 4, 1817.

I will endeavour to gratify you with a statement of the facts, which I have been able to collect, during my stay at Sierra Leone, concerning the unfortunate expedition to the Niger. On the death of Major Peddie, Capt. Campbell succeeded to the command. He felt the desire, he had always cherished, of tracing in his route the course of the Gambia, and of determining the geographical position of various points. He resolved to take a more easterly direction, which obliged him to pass through a rugged and dangerous tract of country—a circumstance very unfavourable to the success of the undertaking. The company left Kakundy on the first of February. The baggage was so great an incumbrance, at that time, that the fine Arabian horses, which were designed for the use of the officers, were necessarily employed in transporting it. The whole company began their march on foot. This measure was the more unfortunate, as the health of the officers suffered from it severely, and it proved fatal to the horses, which, little accustomed to support so great burdens, sunk under the fatigue. In the mean time, the company arrived, after a painful march of about twelve days, at the village of Panietta, at the distance of a little more than one hundred and fifty miles from Kakundy. During this march, so many of the beasts of burden died, that Capt. Campbell was obliged to employ the natives to carry his baggage. This mode of transportation was the cause of many robberies, and of much disquietude to the travellers.

At the commencement of his journey, Capt. Campbell had made the chief of the country acquainted with the object of his voyage, and received many protestations of friendship. But on his arrival at Panietta it was easy to discover, that the natives were alarmed at seeing so great a number of Europeans coming among them. He was therefore detained under various pretexts for the space of four months, expecting, each moment, a favourable determination on the part of the King of Fouta, to enable him to pursue his route towards the Niger. During this long and unexpected delay the expedition had to struggle against the unhealthiness of the climate, famine, and a disease still more terrible than either. In spite of all the means, which were used to procure necessary provisions, the scarcity became so great, that the com-

pany were reduced to a very small allowance. After having long waited in vain, and employed every means to obtain permission to continue their march towards the East, Capt. Campbell was forced to return in his first track. Having a vast quantity of baggage, but very few animals of burden remaining, he was obliged to employ the same mode of transportation as before, and this was followed by the same consequences. Many of his effects were pillaged, others were destroyed. Finally, after a very painful march, the expedition arrived at Kakundy, the point from which it started. Capt. Campbell's health had already begun to decline by reason of fatigue, and the chagrin he felt at the ill success of his undertaking; these, together with the unhealthiness of the climate, had worn down his strength, and exhausted his spirits, and he died in two days after his arrival at the Rio Nunez.

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*Syllabus of Dr. Nicholls' Lectures.*—Dr Frank Nicholls of London, who died in 1778, aged 80, Professor of anatomy at Oxford, and one of the physicians of George II, lectured on Anatomy with great reputation at that University, and in London between the years 1721 and 1743, and invented the method of preparations of the human body by corroded injections. A considerable number of preparations, made by himself, and remarkable for minuteness and perfection, and his large collection of fine specimens of urinary calculi, were several years ago given to the anatomical museum of Harvard College, Cambridge, by his son John Nicholls, Esq. LL. D. of Kensington near London. This gentleman has recently sent to the same institution the copy of the syllabus of his father's lectures, which he used, and which contains a few of his manuscript notes. The high estimation in which this celebrated Professor's lectures and demonstrations were held, and the circumstance, that those who have read anatomical lectures in England, since his time, have been his pupils or the scholars of his pupils, renders highly acceptable this record of the doctrines he inculcated.

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*Curious manuscript of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates.*—Mr. Nicholls has also given, to be deposited in the same museum, a manuscript in the Greek character, which is a preeminent specimen of correct and beautiful penmanship. It is the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, written in the year 1733 by a clergyman, who was also a schoolmaster, of the name of John Thomasine, and who lived in the confines between Cheshire and Yorkshire. He wrote a Pindar, which he presented to Queen Anne. She gave it to her minister, the Earl of Oxford, who gave it to his brother, the collector of books. It is in the Oxford collection in the British museum, where it is a Show Book.

Dr. Mead, the grandfather of Mr. Nicholls, afterwards employed Mr. Thomasine to make a manuscript of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, for which he was liberally rewarded. Dr. Mead bequeathed it to his son in law, Dr. Frank Nicholls. From him it came to his son, John Nicholls Esq; who has consigned it to our University, to be preserved in the anatomical museum, as an example of finished chirography, which, from its execution, and the recollections with which it is associated, always must be an object of curiosity and interest. It has been compared with the Pindar, and acknowledged to be written with superiour beauty.

The characters are made with such exact uniformity, and so completely finished, that it has the appearance, even upon a critical examination, of being an elegant specimen of printing. According to the prices, which rarities of this description bear at present, its value may be estimated at from *twelve to fifteen hundred pounds* sterling.

This work, with the syllabus, was sent to Mr. Boylston, to be presented by him, who has procured them enclosed in an appropriate mahogany case, with a sketch of the history of the books affixed, and presented them in the name of his friend the donor, agreeably to their destination.

Ward Nicholas Boylston Esq. has established at the University a new institution, called the 'Boylston prize for elocution,' of which we shall say more hereafter.

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*Salem East India Marine Society.*—[We have received with great pleasure the following communications respecting the Marine Society and Athenæum in Salem. We have been much gratified with visiting these institutions, and are glad of this opportunity of giving the publick a short notice of their plan and design. They are highly creditable to the town, and calculated to be the mediums of great usefulness and improvement to its inhabitants. The Marine Society, in particular, is founded on principles of benevolence, as well as utility. It is by no means exclusive or local in its influence. It embraces in its operations the interests of Commerce, and the science of Navigation at large. The cabinet is an extensive and rare collection of curiosities, both in nature and art, elegantly arranged in a spacious room; and we are confident, that no person, who visits Salem, will think the time ill spent, which he may devote to examining it. Would not the establishment of similar societies in all our commercial towns, having some bond of union among themselves, contribute very much to the advancement of Commerce, and the sciences of Geography and Navigation? The Athenæum is a library of well chosen books—few, perhaps, of the same extent are more valuable. The selection in the sci-

ences, in history, and some other departments is excellent. It is under regulations, which give its members every advantage, that such an institution could afford.]

The Marine Society was first established at Salem in October, 1799, and was incorporated by the Legislature, by an Act, passed the 3d of March, 1801. The object of the Society, (as it is succinctly stated in the Act of Incorporation,) is 'for the laudable purpose of affording relief to disabled seamen and to the indigent widows and families of deceased members and others, and of promoting a knowledge of navigation and trade to the East Indies.'—By the rules of the Society no person is eligible as a member unless he has actually navigated the seas near the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn, either as master or commander, or factor or supercargo of some vessel belonging to Salem, or, if the person is a resident in Salem, of some vessel belonging to a port in the United States. The officers of the Society, who are chosen annually in January, are a President, a Committee of Observation, consisting of three members, a Treasurer, an Inspector of the Journals, and a Secretary. It is the duty of the Committee of Observation, with the consent of the President, to purchase such books of history, voyages, travels, and navigation, as they may deem useful to the Society; and it is the duty of the members to collect such useful publications and curiosities, as they think will be acceptable to the Society, either as donations, or as temporary loans for the use of the Society. Every member bound to sea is entitled to receive a blank Journal from the Secretary, in which he is required to enter the occurrences of his voyage, and particularly his observations of the variations of the compass, bearings and distances of capes and head lands, the latitude and longitude of ports, islands, rocks, shoals, and of soundings, tides, and currents; and on his return, he is to deliver such Journal to the Inspector of the Journals for the use of the Society. It is the duty of the Inspector to arrange these Journals, and to record in books kept for the purpose, such communications as the President and Committee deem useful to navigation. The widows and children of deceased members, or (should they have none) their parents, who may need assistance, are entitled to receive a proportion of the interest of the funds, for their support. The Society is continually adding to the number of its members; the whole number from its first establishment to the present time is 151, of whom 114 are now living. The Journals, which have been already furnished by the members, contain much valuable nautical and mercantile information; and have been carefully examined and arranged by the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, one of its most distinguished members, who has long served the Society in the important office of Inspector of the Journals. The funds of the Society are invested in publick stock, and are gradually augmenting. There is

a Museum or Cabinet of Curiosities belonging to the Society, which is kept in a very large room, in a brick building, belonging to Col. Pickman, near the centre of the town. In this museum are deposited the books, charts, journals, maps and natural and artificial curiosities belonging to the Society; and which are principally the donations of its members. Among others there is a very good collection of shells, of birds of rare plumage, of beautiful insects, and of medals and coins; a great variety of the utensils and weapons of war used by various savage tribes or natives of the islands in the South Seas, and on the north west coast of America, the coast of Sumatra, and other islands in the Indian seas. There are also several dresses and costumes of the East Indians, the Chinese, Japanese and other nations; some good pictures and engravings, and several ships built and rigged in the most exact and perfect manner as models of real ships. The Museum is open every day in the year, except Sundays, and is accessible to all persons without any expense. The only requisite necessary is an introduction by some member of the Society.

*The Salem Athenæum.*—This institution was incorporated by the Legislature, by an act passed the sixth day of March, 1810. Previous to this time there were two publick libraries in Salem, one called the Philosophical Library, which was established in June 1781, and the other the social Library, which was incorporated by an act passed the 7th of February 1797. Both of these libraries are now united in the Athenæum. The officers, who are chosen annually in May, are a President, nine Directors (of whom the President is one,) a Treasurer, a Clerk and a Librarian. The venerable Doct. E. A. Holyoke was first elected President, and still continues to preside over the Institution. The Library consists at present of between four and five thousand volumes, which are deposited in two rooms in the brick building belonging to the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company, near the centre of the town. These rooms are open every day, except Sundays, from nine o'clock in the morning till sunset, and are used as reading rooms. Any stranger is at liberty to have the use of the rooms for reading upon being introduced by a member. The members are also allowed to take from the library two folios, or two quartos, or four volumes of any smaller size at a time, for the use of themselves and their families at their own houses. There are many very valuable works belonging to the Library upon all branches of science, of classical and polite literature, and of the various arts. Among others is a complete series of the English Philosophical Transactions from the beginning, the Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des arts et des métiers. The Transactions of

the Royal Academies of Sciences of Paris, of Lisbon, of Berlin, of Edinburgh, and of Ireland, the Annual Register from the beginning, the Biographia Britannica, the Universal History ancient and modern, the Encyclopedia Britannica, Rees's Cyclopedia, Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Stephani Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ, Facciolati Lexicon totius Latinitatis, the Critical Review, the Monthly Review, the Eclectick Review, the Edinburgh Review, the Quarterly Review, the Monthly Magazine, the Philosophical Magazine, the European Magazine, and the principal periodical works of the present day.

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*Magnetizing power of the violet rays.* Professor Moricchini, of Rome, has discovered, that the violet rays of the prismatick spectrum have a strong magnetizing power. The Marquis Ridolfi has succeeded in magnetizing needles, by passing over them, for a period of not less than thirty minutes, the violet rays of the spectrum through the medium of a condensing lens; after which process, they possess all the energy and the properties of needles magnetized in the common way with a loadstone. Their homonomous poles repel, and their heteronomous poles attract each other. When made to vibrate on a pivot, their points turn constantly to the north, and their heads to the south. We know not, that any important results have as yet followed from this discovery, but it adds greatly to the wonders of magnetism, and may perhaps hereafter serve to throw some light on a subject, which has hitherto been involved in such profound mystery.

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*Library of Harvard University.*—About *fifteen hundred* books have lately been received from Germany for the library of Harvard University. Since our last notice of donations to the library a number of valuable presents have been made, viz.

From David Sears, Esq.—French books, 141 volumes, elegantly bound, including all the works of Marmontel, Condillac, Mably, Berquin, D'Arnaud, &c.

From Francis Vergnies, M. D.—The following very valuable Botanical works—Herbarium Amboinense, 6 volumes. fol. with 696 plates—Hortus Cliftornianus a Linnæo, fol. plates. Description des Plantes de l'Amérique par Plumier, fol. plates.—Historia Naturalis Brasiliæ, fol. 1648. plates—Selectarum Stirpuim Americanarum a Jacquin, fol. plates—Observationes Botanicæ a Jacquin, fol. plates.

From J. S. C. F. Frey.—Copies of his different publications, viz. his edition of Vanderhooght's Hebrew Bible, 2 vols. 8vo.; his Hebrew, Latin, and English Dictionary, 2 vols. 8vo.; and his Hebrew grammar, 8vo.

From John Taylor, M. D. (of the Hon. East India Company's Bombay Medical Establishment) Lilauati; or a Treatise on Arithmetick and Geometry. By Bhuscura Acharya; translated from the original Sanscrit. By John Taylor, M. D. 4to. Bombay, 1816.

From Mr. Francis W. P. Greenwood.—Malone's Inquiry into the authenticity of the Papers attributed to Shakspeare, (by W. H. Ireland,) 8vo. Bolingbroke's Remarks on the History of England, 8vo.

From Hon. Dudley A. Tyng.—The thirteenth volume of Massachusetts Reports. Mr. Tyng has regularly presented all the preceding volumes.

From Benjamin Vaughan, Esq.—Arati Diosemea; notis et collatione scriptorum illustravit, Thomas Forster, F. L. S. 8vo. London, 1815.

From Thomas Forster, F. L. S.—Forster on Atmospherick Phenomena 8vo.

From J. F. Dana, M. D. Humboldt's Personal Narrative. 8vo.

From John G. Coffin, M. D. Brera on Worms; translated by John G. Coffin, M. D. 8vo. Cummings & Hilliard; Boston, 1817.

From Professor Willard.—Diplomata et Statuta Regalis Societatis Londini. 4to.—Petit's Hebrew Grammar. Professor Willard's Hebrew Grammar.

From Mr. Sparks, Tutor of Harvard University.—Robert Adams' Narrative. London. 4to. 1816.—The last volume of the North American Review.

From Hon. Charles Jackson.—Six volumes of Law Books.

From the Royal Society and from the Horticultural Society of London.—The last numbers of their Transactions, respectively.

From Messrs. Wells & Lilly, Boston. 14 volumes of Works, published by them.

From Mr. John Eliot, Boston.—35 volumes of Works published by himself, and other Works.

From Messrs. West & Richardson, Boston.—Wanostrocht's French Grammar, published by them. 12mo.

From William Hilliard, Esq.—Several Works published by him.

From Jesse Torry, jun. Physician.—A Portraiture of Domestick Slavery in the United States. 8vo. The Intellectual Torch Pamphlet—both works of the donor.

The Proprietors of the University Reading Room are indebted to H. Niles, Esq. for the present of Niles' Weekly Register; to Nathan Hale, Esq. for the Boston Weekly Messenger; and to A. G. Tannatt, Esq. for the Nantucket Weekly Messenger. They have likewise received the last volume of the Portico, given in exchange for the North American Review; and also the Port Folio.

Various Pamphlets and small Books, not mentioned above, have been received from different gentlemen for the Library and Reading Room.

*List of American Books published in the United States during the last two months.*

*Biography.*

Life of Patrick Henry, by William Wirt, Esq. 8vo. $4,50, Philadelphia.

Memoirs of William Sampson, with a Sketch of the History of Ireland, second edition, $2, 50, Baltimore.

Repository of the Lives and Portraits of distinguished Americans, by Joseph Delaplaine, Vol. I. Part II. 4to $4, Philadelphia.

*History.*

History of the United States, by David Ramsay, second edition, vol. 1. This volume is designed to form a part of an Universal History, prepared for the press by Dr. Ramsay in his life time, and to be published for the benefit of his family if a sufficient subscription shall be obtained, in 9 or 12 volumes; $3,33 per vol.

Researches relative to the Aborigines of America, by James M'Culloch jr. M. D. $1.

*Geography and Topography.*

The Ohio Gazetteer, by John Kilborn, 3d edition, 62½ cts. Baltimore.

A New Map and Plan of the City of New York, with a plan of the City in 1726, New York.

A Gazetteer of the State of New Hampshire, by Eliphalet Merrill, and Phinehas Merrill, 8vo, $1,12½, Exeter.

A map of the Bounty Lands in the Illinois Territory, $1. Washington.

The Navigator, containing Directions for navigating the Missisippi, Ohio, Monongahela and Allegany Rivers, with Maps.

A Geographical Description of Louisiana, by William Darby, 2d edition improved, Philadelphia.

*Natural History.*

Letters from the Hon. David Humphreys, F. R. S. to Sir Joseph Banks, on the Sea Serpent seen in Gloucester Harbour 12mo, 50 cts. New York.

A Manual of Botany for the Northern States, compiled for the Members of the Botanick Class in Williams College, 12mo, 75 cts. Albany.

American Medical Botany No. 1, by Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Rumford Professor, and Lecturer in Materia Medica in Harvard University, royal 8vo, with ten coloured plates, $3,50, Boston.

Report of a Committee of the Linnæan Society of New England relative to the Sea Serpent seen near Cape Ann, 8vo. 62½ cts. Boston.

Vegetable Materia Medica of the United States, No. 2. By W. P. C. Barton, M. D. Professor of Botany in the University of Pennsylvania, 4to, with 6 coloured plates, $3, Philadelphia.

Letters to Ladies, detailing important Information concerning themselves and infants. By Thomas Ewell, M. D. $2. Georgetown.

*Medicine.*

Discourses on the elements of Therapeuticks. By N. Chapman, M. D. Vol. I. 8vo $4. Philadelphia.

American Modern Practice of Physic, by James Thacher, M. D. A. A. S 8vo. $4. Boston.

Physical observations on the Topography and Diseases of Louisiana. By Jacob Heustis, M. D. $1,25. Philadelphia.

Transactions of the Physico-Medical Society of New York, 8vo. $3, New York.

An Essay on the Yellow Fever of 1817, by J. L. F. W. Shecut, 37½ cts. Charleston.

Orfila's Toxicology, or Treatise on Poisons, abridged and partly translated, by Joseph G. Nancrede, M. D. Philadelphia.

*Law.*

Reports of cases in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, by Hon. Jasper Yates, 8vo. $7. Philadelphia.

Laws of the United States to March 3, 1815, under authority of the act of Congress of April 18, 1814. Vol. 5 and last. 8vo, Washington.

Reports of cases argued and determined in the Circuit Court of the United States for the first Circuit. Vol. 2. By John Gallison; Counsellor at Law, 8vo, pp. 596. $5,50. Boston.

Laws of the United States, passed at the 1st and 2d sessions of the 14th congress. $2. Georgetown.

Reports of cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States. Vol. 2. By Wharton, 8vo. $6,50.

*Divinity.*

A Brief Outline of the History of the Bible and Bible Societies, in a sermon. By Thomas Warner, A. M.

A Sermon on the Idolatry of the Hindoos, By Samuel Nott, late Missionary at Bombay.

An Examination of the Doctrine of Predestination, by Nathan Bangs, 50 cents, New York.

A Vindication of some of the most important doctrines of the

Reformation, in reply to Bangs on Predestination, By Seth Williston, 75 cts, New York.

A Sermon in commemoration of the Reformation, on the third centurial Jubilee, &c. By Frederick Christian Schœffer, 62½ cts. New York.

A Sermon, preached in Medfield, Jan. 5, 1817, near the 166th anniversary of the incorporation of that town. By Daniel C. Sanders, D. D. Dedham.

A Dictionary of all Religions & Religious Denominations, Fourth edition, with additions and corrections. By Hannah Adams, 8vo. New York and Boston.

The Prophetick History of the Christian Religion Explained. By the Rev. J. George Schmucker, Yorktown, Penn.

A Sermon preached before the society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in N. America. By John Foster, D. D. Cambridge.

*Classicks.*

C. Cornelii Taciti Opera ex recensione Jo. Augusti Ernesti. Denuo curavit J. J. Oberlinus. Cum notis Sclectis. Wells et Lilly. Tomis tribus. 12mo. pp. 1209. $6. Bostoniæ.

*Education.*

A Greek Grammar by James Ross. 2d edit. 75 cts. Philadelphia.

The Instructor in Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetick, Merchants' accounts, Mensuration, Guaging, Geography, and Astronomy, $1, New York.

Catachetical Compend of General History, by Frederick Butler, A. M. 37½ cts. Hartford.

A Manual, containing expressions used in Travelling and in other circumstances in Life, in French and English, by Madame de Genlis. 12mo. 75 cts. Boston.

An Introduction to Ancient and Modern Geography. By J. A. Cummings, Fifth Edition, 12mo. 75 cts. Boston.

An Elementary Book for the Deaf and Dumb, with the Manual Alphabet, by T. H. Gallaudet, 50 cts. Hartford.

*Poetry.*

The Bridal of Vaumond, a Metrical Romance, 75 cts. New York.

The Progress of Society, A Poem. New York.

Airs of Palestine, a Poem, by John Pierpont, Esq. Third Edition, 50 cts. Boston.

*Miscellaneous.*

A Memoir on the History, Culture, Manufacture, Uses &c. of the Tobacco Plant.

Syllabus of Lectures on Government, delivered in William and Mary College, by John Augustine Smith, D. D. President and Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy. 62½ cts. Philadelphia.

An Abstract and Review of Baron Rogniat's Modern Art of War. By S. Swett Esq. 25 cts. Boston.

The Infantry Exercise of the United States Army, Abridged for the use of the Militia. $1, Poughkeepsie.

A Narrative of the Loss of the brig Commerce and the sufferings of the Crew, by James Riley, second edition, 8vo. $3. New York.

The Journal of Archibald Robbins, shipwrecked in the brig Commerce. $1, Bridgeport.

Blunt's Stranger's Guide to the City of N. York, 18mo. $1,50 New York.

Letters from the South, written during an Excursion in the Summer of 1816, by the author of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, 2 vols. 12mo. $2 50. New York.

The Massachusetts Register, and United States Callendar, for the year 1818, 18mo. bound $1. Boston.

Letters, Critical and Pathological, addressed to Charles Caldwell, M. D. Baltimore.

The Gentleman's Annual Pocket Remembrancer for 1818, $1, 25, Philadelphia.

The American Lady's Pocket Book for 1818, $1,25. Philadelphia.

A Letter addressed to C. D. Colden, in answer to his strictures in the Life of Fulton, on a Legislative Report, relative to Steam Navigation. By William Alexander Duer, Esq. 50 cts. Albany.

The New Hampshire Register, and United States Callender, for 1818, Exeter.

Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States, Second edition, with additions. By Timothy Pitkin, Member of the House of Representatives, from Connecticut, 8vo. $3,50, Hartford.

The Federalist, by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison and Mr. Jay. A New Edition, Richmond.

The Hero, or the Adventures of a Night, 12mo. $1. Philadelphia.

*In the Press.*

The Distiller, by Harrison Hall, a second edition with additions and improvements.

Men as they are, or the Cogitations of the Hermit of Wysox on Society and Manners, 8vo, 2 vols. $6. Philadelphia.

Poems, Religious, Moral, Political and Historical, by James Carson, Esq. by subscription, Philadelphia.

A Report of Proceedings before the Circuit Court of the United States on a Habeas Corpus for certain British Officers, charged with violating the neutral relations of the United States, by preparing an expedition to South America. By Thomas R. Peters, Philadelphia.

Fourth Volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Hilliard and Metcalf. Univ. Press.

Massachusetts Term Reports, Vol. 14. Hilliard and Metcalf, Cambridge.

## *Abstract of meteorological observations taken at Cambridge for October and November.*

| | | Barometer. | | | Thermometer. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 7 A. M. | 2 P. M. | 9 P. M. | 7 A. M. | 2 P. M. | 9 P. M. |
| Oct. | G. | 30.62 | 30.65 | 30.58 | 62° | 73° | 61° |
| | M. | 30.000 | 29.984 | 30.043 | 40.83 | 51.45 | 44.97 |
| | L. | 29.50 | 29.31 | 29.38 | 22 | 40 | 25 |
| Nov. | G. | 30.31 | 30.30 | 30.29 | 63 | 68 | 61 |
| | M. | 30.027 | 29.990 | 29.987 | 34.87 | 46.55 | 38.33 |
| | L. | 29.59 | 29.38 | 29.38 | 12 | 20 | 12 |

Whole quantity of rain in October 2.68 inches, and in November 3.44

CORRIGENDA. In the last number line 8, p. 49, for 'effect' read 'affect'—line 17, p. 49, for 'fermentations' read 'permutations'—line 2, p. 75, after 'destroy' add 'its.'

[We shall hereafter pursue the subject of Boundaries, commenced in the last number. Mr. Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry did not reach us, till the pages for the present number were full. We shall give a review of it in our next.

We are sorry, that an excellent article in continuation of an account of *The Jesuits* from a highly distinguished correspondent came too late for insertion in the present number.]

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N°. XVIII.

MARCH, 1818.

ART. IX. *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry. By William Wirt, of Richmond, Virginia.* Philadelphia, J. Webster, 1817, pp. 427.

THE prominent incidents of some men's lives are so intimately connected with the destinies of nations, and the important political events of their times, that, in recording them, it is not always easy to draw the line of separation between biography and history. The machinery of society and government is kept in motion by the agency of a few powerful minds,—to delineate these in their true characters, to exhibit them in the greatness of their strength, and extent of their energies, it is necessary to trace their influence, not only in producing the operations and changes, which took place in their immediate sphere of action, but such as proceeded more remotely from the same causes. It should be the aim, as it is the duty of every piographer, to illustrate the character of his hero, by a full, impartial, and undisguised account of the leading events of his life—the moral structure and distinguishing traits of his mind—his habits of thought and principles of action—his motives for designing, as well as the means he used in accomplishing his designs. To do this in writing the life of a man, whose name, and the record of whose deeds, hold a conspicuous place in the political annals of his country, it will often be necessary to enter into historical details and political discussions, which,

although they have not the attractions of amusing narrative, have, nevertheless, the strong interest of important facts, and the practical results of theoretical politicks. The life of Mr. Henry illustrates in a striking manner these remarks—it is a leading feature in the history of his native state, during the period of its severest trials and brightest glory. We shall not begin, therefore, by quarrelling with Mr. Wirt for sending out his book under the title of Sketches of the Life of Patrick Henry, although it might with equal appropriateness have been called Sketches of the History of Virginia.

Biography at the present day occupies an important station in the field of literature. We are not sure that the taste, which has become so prevalent, for biographical sketches, notices and anecdotes, will, on the whole, prove a favourable omen to the interests of truth and letters. If it were the great and good only, who are singled out and held up to our view by their partial biographers, as models of every excellence, which can adorn the human character, we might expect much benefit, and apprehend little danger to the reading community. But the present unfortunate propensity of filling tomes of quartos and octavos with marvellous accounts of the lives of men and woman, who, during their existence, produced no impression on the publick mind, and who were not known beyond the circle of their immediate friends, or the mountains, which bounded the horizon of their native villages, is preposterous and absurd. Such people may have been good in their sphere—the recollections of their virtues should be cherished in the breasts of those to whom their influence extended—but why should the world be called off from its busy occupations to listen to an ill told story of their little concerns?—Besides this unwelcome interfering with our more important affairs, we are very likely to be imposed on and deceived. The writer must make a book at all events—his materials are few—he is obliged to resort to his invention for incidents, and to his fancy for embellishments. He moulds the character into such a form as suits his own convenience and prejudices—makes sage and elaborate reflections on peculiar traits and excellences, which never existed except in his own imagination—surrounds his hero with every variety of circumstance—makes him generous, disinterested, benevolent, brave, liberal, mild, compassionate, as occasion may require; all the nobler and all the gentler virtues are his, and discover themselves in all his sentiments and actions.

But notwithstanding the abuses to which this species of writing is subject, we should be sorry to have it hold a much lower rank than it does at present. We should be glad, indeed, if the publick taste were a little more fastidious, but as it would be idle to fall into lamentations over a malady to which we can afford no relief, we shall submit with becoming resignation to the destiny which awaits us, and suffer ourselves to be borne along without resistence or ill nature with the slow current of the 'tide of times.'

There is a charm in well written biographies, which we seldom meet with in writings of any other description. We have a native fondness for knowing what concerns others; and we contemplate with delight a character, which has risen to distinction by the means of generous deeds, prompted by virtuous sentiments. Above all are we pleased with tracing the progress of a great mind, struggling against the adversities of fortune and the petrifying grasp of poverty—putting forth into manly exertion its native enegies—eluding the fatality of circumstances—throwing off the shackles of dependence and prejudice, and rising by a slow, yet sure gradation of that point of eminence and influence, which it was destined by the original strength of its powers to occupy. There is a sacredness in the fame of such a man. We regard with reverence the garland of glory, which surrounds his name and his virtues, and are ready to charge with sacrilege and brand with infamy the wretch, who should tear it from the hallowed shrine, which it encircles. A great advantage resulting from a correct delineation of the characters of such men, is the encouraging examples they afford to those, who have yet their course to run. They view the devious paths—the steep and rugged ascents to the temple of fame, and turn almost hopeless from a prospect so disheartening; but when they see, that these obsticles, however imposing, have been successfully encountered—that resolution, rectitude of motive, and firmness of purpose are all that is requisite to insure them similar success, they press forward with awakened strength—pass the bounds, which they had thought impassable, and soon arrive at the goal of their fondest hopes.

Mr. Wirt commences his book with a preface of some length, informing his readers from what sources he obtained his materials. He tells us that he had been twelve years engaged in the task—that he had never seen Mr. Henry, but had spared no pains in collecting information from the most authentick sources. We

certainly regret, that after so much trouble and labour his materials should have been so scanty—for although Mr. Wirt has made a book out of them of very respectable dimensions, we should hardly do justice to our readers not to tell them, that but a small portion of it relates alone to the life and character of Patrick Henry. The history of the times—resolves of assemblies and conventions—letters, which might very well have been spared—and the author's own speculations on various subjects, fill up vast gaps between the leading biographical points. It has been well remarked by a late writer, that Patrick Henry seems to have lived in an age when writing and printing were unknown. We have scarcely any thing but tradition to tell us, that such a man existed. After a twelve years' search the author has added little to the stock, except what he has obtained from the verbal accounts of old people, who were acquainted with Mr. Henry, and from certain traditions relating to the earlier years of his life. We do not mention this as a cause of complaint against the author for any unfair dealing with his readers; on the contrary, he has been very candid in letting us know the extent, as well as the sources of his information. We mention it as a remarkable fact, considering the fame and high reputation of Mr. Henry, particularly in his native state.

It is no fault of the author, that his materials were scanty; but we have some reason to complain, that he suffered them to swell into a book of so cumbersome a size. One half of the space now occupied would have been amply sufficient; and in that shape it would have spared us some expense, and added much more to our interest and profit. In its present form it bears strong marks of haste and negligence,—in some parts it would almost seem that the author had forgotten what was his plan, or whether he had any. There are occasionally specimens of fine writing, but one does not always see what purpose they are intended to answer. There is little of plain, easy narrative, and much less of that orderly method, clear arrangement, and judicious selection, which constitute the principal excellence of biographical and historical compositions. We are much mistaken if any good object is promoted, in works of this description, by the intervening speculations of the writer. We would not prohibit all remarks; but their principal design should be to explain and illustrate—not to show the author's talents at fine writing, or to express some happy thought, which accidentally enters his head, but which relates to any thing rather than his subject;—nor would we have these remarks

lengthen out into formal dissertations, copied from the author's common place book, which he seems to think too important for the world to lose, and therefore seizes on the first opportunity to communicate treasures so valuable.

Patrick Henry was born in Hanover County, Virginia, on the 29th of May, 1736. His father had come over four years before from Scotland, and settled on a small estate in the interiour of Virginia. Until ten years old, Patrick was sent to a common school in the neighbourhood, where he learned reading, writing, and a little arithmetick. His father, who had been liberally educated, then took him home, and endeavoured, but with very little success, to initiate him into the rudiments of the Latin. A strong natural aversion to study, and an unconquerable propensity to idleness, rendered every attempt to bring him to the discipline and occupations of a scholar unavailing. Fishing and gunning were his only amusements, and they seemed entirely to absorb his attention. 'He was in the forest with his gun, or over the brook with his angle rod,' from morning till night, and sometimes for whole weeks together.

'I cannot learn that he gave, in his youth, any evidence of that precocity which sometimes distinguishes uncommon genius. His companions recollect no instance of premature wit, no striking sentiment, no flash of fancy, no remarkable beauty or strength of expression; and no indication, however slight, either of that impassioned love of liberty, or of that adventurous daring and intrepidity, which marked, so strongly, his future character. So far was he, indeed, from exhibiting any one prognostic of this greatness, that every omen foretold a life, at best of mediorcity, if not of insignificance. His person is represented as having been coarse, his manners uncommonly awkward, his dress slovenly, his conversation very plain, his aversion to study invincible, and his faculties almost entirely benumbed by indolence. No persuasion could bring him either to read or to work. On the contrary, he ran wild in the forest like one of the *aborignes* of the country, and divided his life between the dissipation and uproar of the chase, and the languor of inaction.' p. 6.

Unable to support the expense of a large family, his father found it necessary to prepare his sons for entering at an early age on the active scenes of life. At the age of fifteen Patrick began to serve as an apprentice to a country merchant, and the next year his father procured a small store of goods in which he placed him, and his brother William, as partners in trade.

William, being idle and dissolute, wholly neglected his business. Patrick was averse to action of every kind, and was neither qualified nor diposed to take on himself the management of their concerns. The consequence was, that one year's 'disastrous experiment' brought their affairs to an issue, and left them neither the reward of successful, nor the consolation of honourable exertion.

But his relish for his favourite sports seems not to have been diminished, nor any symptoms of activity to have been excited by his misfortunes ;—'they had not the effect of teaching him prudence, or of chilling his affections ; for at the early age of eighteen we find him married to a Miss Shelton, the daughter of an honest farmer in the neighbourhood, but in circumstances too poor to contribute effectually to her support. By the joint assistance of their parents, however, the young couple were settled on a small farm, and here, with the assistance of one or two slaves, Mr. Henry had to delve the earth with his own hands for subsistence.' But this scheme succeeded as badly as the other. He abandoned it in two years, and resorted again to merchandize. The result of this experiment may be very easily imagined from that of the other,—neither his character nor his habits were changed with his occupations. He neglected his business—made his violin and flute the companions of his listless hours, and in a very few years terminated his mercantile career in bankruptcy. He was left in poverty and debt, with no present relief, and no future prospects.

We must not omit to notice some marvellous accounts of the remarkable talent he is said to have possessed, even as early as his first trading adventure, of scrutinizing, or perhaps we may call it analyzing the characters of men,—'of studying them in relation to the structure of their minds, the general cast of their opinions, the motives and principles, which influenced their actions, and what may be called the philosophy of character.' This is no humble employment, we must allow, for a boy of sixteen, whose indolence and aversion to mental exercise of every kind are represented as incorrigible, and we strongly suspect, that the author listened in this particular with a rather too willing credulity to the voice of tradition. He tells us, that Henry used to amuse himself by exercising these remarkable powers on the rusticks, who visited his store, and fancies that he sees strongly portrayed in them his future greatness.

During Mr. Henry's last experiment at merchandize he began to have an inclination for books. This never became so

strong, however, as to inspire him with the least ardour for literary acquisitions. He read books on geography, the history and charters of the colony, and the history of Greece and Rome. He procured a translation of Livy, and read it with much earnestness. 'The grandeur of the Roman character so beautifully exhibited in Livy,' says the author, 'filled him with surprise and admiration,—and it seems not improbable, that the lofty strain in which he himself afterwards spoke and acted, was, if not originally inspired, at least highly raised, by the noble models set before him by this favourite author.'

As a last resort he applied himself to the study of the law. According to Judge Tyler, who says he had the account from his own lips, he studied one month, 'and in this time he read Coke upon Littleton, and the Virginia laws.' He was examined, and obtained license to practice. This fact does not raise very high our opinions of the legal knowledge, the regulations of the bar, and the discipline of courts of justice at that time in Virginia, and it would seem to us hardly possible, were it not well authenticated, that they could have been so defective as to admit a man, after one month's study, to the practice of a profession, of which it requires twenty years assiduous application to become master. Our lawyer, however, found no business in his profession for three years.

'During this time, the wants and distresses of his family were extreme The profits of his practice could not have supplied them even with the necessaries of life; and he seems to have spent the greatest part of his time, both of his study of the law and the practice of the first two or three years, with his father-in-law, Mr. Shelton, who then kept the tavern at Hanover court house. Whenever Mr. Shelton was from home, Mr. Henry supplied his place in the tavern, received the guests, and attended to their entertainment. All this was very natural in Mr. Henry's situation, and seems to have been purely the voluntary movement of his naturally kind and obliging disposition. Hence, however, a story has arisen, that in the early part of his life, he was a bar-keeper by profession. The fact seems not to have been so; but if it had been, it would certainly have redounded much more to his honour than to his discredit; for as Mr. Henry owed no part of his distinction either to birth or fortune, but wholly to himself, the deeper the obscurity and poverty from which he emerged, the stronger is the evidence which it bears to his powers, and the greater glory does it shed around him.' p. 18, 19.

The famous controversy between the people of Virginia and the clergy, respecting the annual stipend of the latter, happened about this time. We cannot enter into the particulars of this affair. It is sufficient to state, that it turned on a mere point of law, in which the cause was so decidedly in favour of the clergy, according to the plainest and most positive construction of the law, that Mr. Lewis, the advocate for the people, had retired from the contest. At this juncture Mr. Henry was applied to, and he engaged to take the place of Mr. Lewis. The author's description of the court, and the success of Mr. Henry's speech, is so strange and so entirely out of nature, that we cannot pretend to give our readers any idea of it without quoting the whole; and this is an indulgence with which our limits will not allow us to gratify them. We can only say in general, that as Mr. Henry is acknowledged to have known nothing of law, he could have said nothing to the direct point in question; that he addressed the passions of a large and mixed audience to great effect in a speech of nearly an hour long; and that the jury and judges finally decided against law, justice, and reason. But we do not see in all this any special cause of triumph for the speaker. It was a case in which every individual, among the people, the jury and the judges, was personally concerned, and the acclamations of the multitude, and decisions of the court were dictated by the strongest feelings of interest—feelings, which had been highly excited by a series of preceding events. Any man, who had come forward boldly in defiance of a law, which they considered so obnoxious, would have been likely to produce a similar effect. We cannot forbear quoting one passage, which has so much in it of the serious and ludicrous, the tragick and comick, that we shall not conjecture under what class of compositions it would be placed by rhetoricians. Twenty clergymen, it seems, were seated on a bench near the speaker, 'and his father was in the chair of the presiding magistrate.' Towards the close of the speech, while the multitude were stretching forward, 'as if to catch the last strain of some heavenly visitant—the mockery of the clergymen was soon turned into alarm; their triumph into confusion and despair; and at one burst of his rapid and overwhelming invective, they fled from the bench in precipitation and terrour! As for the father, such was his surprise, such his amazement, such his rapture, that, forgetting where he was, and the character he was filling, tears of extacy streamed down his cheeks.' How these twenty unfortunate clergymen made their retreat

with so much precipitation, while, as the author remarks, 'the court-house was crowded with an overwhelming throng, and surrounded with an immense multitude,' is a question we shall leave to our readers to solve.

For three years after this period we hear only of Mr. Henry, that he had little practice in the law, was indolent and averse to study, and, as usual, more devoted to his favourite amusement, than to his law books, or his profession.

'After his removal to Louisa,' says my informant, 'he has been known to hunt deer, frequently for several days together, carrying his provision with him, and at night encamping in the woods. After the hunt was over, he would go from the ground to Louisa court, clad in a coarse cloth coat stained with all the trophies of the chase, greasy leather breeches ornamented in the same way, leggings for boots, and a pair of saddle-bags on his arm. Thus accoutred, he would enter the court-house, take up the first of his causes that chanced to be called; and if there was any scope for his peculiar talent, throw his adversary into the back ground, and astonish both court and jury by the powerful effusions of his natural eloquence.' p. 37, 38.

He was destined soon, however, to come forward on a broader theatre of action. He was chosen a member of the house of burgesses, in May, 1765. Mr. Wirt stops here to draw a picture of 'that uncommon galaxy' of brilliant stars, which shone with such dazzling lustre in the house of burgesses, 'in which the plebeian Henry was now called upon to take his place.' In this picture we are presented with full length portraits of five or six personages, surrounded with all the gaudy emblems of genius, of eloquence, and of learning, which the fertile imagination of the artist could invent. Now we have always regarded with a sort of reverence the names of Randolph, Pendleton, Bland, Lee, Wythe, and recurred to them with delight in our recollections of the first manly efforts to gain our independence, and secure our freedom; but the native lustre of their characters is certainly somewhat eclipsed to our view, when we look at them decorated with the glittering panoply and tinsel ornaments in which their eulogist has thought proper to clothe them. They needed none of these trappings. Mr. Wirt not only makes them all orators, but orators of the first order. One of them 'was the Cicero of the house,' and had his brow loaded with the enormous weight of 'every wreath, that all the muses, and all the gra-

ces could entwine.' To be like Cicero was not enough; his style was like that of Herodotus, 'as described by the Roman orator;—he flowed on like a quiet and placid river without a ripple.' But he flowed too smoothly; 'a cataract, like that of Niagara, crowned with overhanging rocks and mountains, in all the rude and awful grandeur of nature, would have brought him nearer to the standard of *Homer and of Henry.*' We will not decide whether the author is serious here, or merely sporting with the airy forms of his own fancy. We presume he had forgotten, while describing this constellation of orators, what the British Spy had said about seven years before, namely, 'the Virginians boast of an orator of nature, (Patrick Henry) *and he is the only orator of whom they do boast with much emphasis.*' On the whole, we do not see the design of this brilliant scene, unless it be to set off to more advantage the part, which the rustick Henry is about to act.

It was at the close of this session of the house of burgesses, that Mr. Henry brought forward his celebrated resolutions respecting the stamp act, which Mr. Wirt would persuade us, were the first indications of resistance to the unjust claims of the British Parliament, in regard to taxing the colonies without their consent. Previously to this event, says he, 'the idea of force was no where glanced at in the most distant manner; no heart seems to have been bold enough at first to conceive it.'

In its historical relations this is a point of some importance, and we must claim the indulgence of our readers while we examine it a little at large. We are mistaken, if the same spirit, which dictated those resolutions, had not long existed, in the breasts of many patriots of the colonies, with equal force, and equal readiness to act, when a proper occasion should require. The fathers of New England would scarcely thank Mr. Wirt for telling them, that it originated in Virginia so late as the year 1765. They would point him to the high born sentiments of freedom, which drove them from the land of their fathers to seek an asylum in a wilderness—to the hardships they endured, the dangers they encountered, and their heart-appalling struggles with the Indians;—they would point him to the history of their descendants, and show him that the spirit of their ancestors had never slumbered in their bosoms. The first settlers of New England could feel but a weak attachment to the government, from whose oppressions they had fled; they looked around them and fancied, that what they saw

was their own—they felt themselves free, and that they deserved to be so. New rights sprung up from their new relations, and with them a tone of independent feeling, and determined spirit of freedom, which no acts or menaces of the British government could ever subdue. We see these discovering themselves from the grant of their first charter, on all occasions where they fancied their liberties were encroached on, or their rights invaded. We shall bring forward a few instances only, but sufficient to show, that the notion of resistance was by no means novel in New England, at the time Mr. Henry's resolutions were passed.

We need not go back farther than the period, in which the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its first charter by king Charles II. (1684.) It was the determined opposition of the inhabitants to some of the obnoxious measures of the king, and their absolute refusal to comply with his unjust demands, that induced him to deprive them of the charter, which had been the basis of their government, and the security of their rights for more than sixty years. In the instructions to their agents at this time, they charge them 'to make no concessions of any charter privileges conferred on the colony.' 'In this period,' says Minot, 'we may date the origin of two parties, the patriots and the prerogative men, between whom controversy scarcely intermitted, and was never ended until the seperation of the colonies.' Contin. I. 51.

Our position is strongly illustrated by the energetick proceedings of the people of Massachusetts Bay, during the tyrannical administration of Sir Edmund Andross. They became especially alarmed at the liberty he assumed of imposing taxes without their consent. We shall select a few passages from some of the publications of that period, which show the sentiment and spirit of the times. The writer of the Narrative of the Miseries of New England, after enumerating a series of grievances, adds,

'And moneys have been raised by the government in a most illegal and arbitrary way, *without any consent of the people.* Sir Edmund Andross caused a tax to be laid in a penny on a pound on all the towns then under his government; and when at Ipswich and other places, the selectmen voted, that inasmuch as it was against the common privilege of English subjects to have money raised without their own consent, in any assembly or parliament, that therefore they would petition the king for liberty of an assembly before they made any rates.'

So determined were they in their adherence to these principles, that the governour caused the selectmen of several towns to be imprisoned and fined for their obstinacy. We find the same principles vindicated with warmth in a treatise published in Boston in the year 1691, called, The Revolution in New England justified. It constitutes a full exposition of the arbitrary measures of Andross, and contains the depositions of a large number of the most respectable men in the colony, in proof of its assertions. On the subject of taxation, the writer refers to a remark of Sir William Jones, attorney general in the reign of Charles II. 'That excellent attorney told the then king, that he could no more grant a commission to levy money on his subjects there (in the colonies) without their consent by an assembly, than they could discharge themselves from their allegiance to the English crown.' The author goes on to say,

'What Englishmen in their right wits will venture their lives over the seas to enlarge the king's dominions, and to enrich and greaten the English nation, if all the reward they shall have for their cost and adventures shall be their being deprived of English liberties, and in the same condition with the slaves of France and Turkey.—Besides, there was an original contract between the king and the first planters of New England—the king promising them if they, at their own cost and charge, would subdue a wilderness, and enlarge his dominions, they and their posterity after them should enjoy such privileges as are in their charters expressed, *of which that of not having taxes imposed on them without their own consent was one.*' p. 43.

There was also published in the same year a pamphlet, entitled a Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmund Andross and his Accomplices, by several gentlemen, who were members of his council, and who subscribed their names to the narrative. The same manly sentiments and fixed determination to support their charter privileges are expressed throughout this narrative, as are exhibited in the publications we have just mentioned.* So exactly were these two

* An interesting relation of these events may also be seen in an account of the late Revolution in New England, by Nathaniel Byfield, London, 1689. In an introduction to a sermon preached by Increase Mather in 1693, he declares himself to have been the author of the Narrative of the Miseries of New England—The Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charter, and some other curious pamphlets. These, and many others relative to this interesting period of colonial history, may be found among Mr. Shaw's invaluable collection of historical documents in the Boston Athenæum.

last treatises adapted to the publick sentiments and spirit of the times, at the commencement of the American Revolution, that new editions of them were printed in Boston in the year 1773.

We will pass over some instances of minor importance, and come next to the affair of lord Loudoun. In 1757 he demanded of the general court of Massachusetts to quarter his troops among the people. They refused to comply, on the plea that the act of parliament relative to this subject did not extend to the colonies; and although he threatened to compel them by force, yet they resolutely withstood his threats, and in an address to governour Pownall, they boldly declared, 'that the inhabitants of this colony are entitled to the natural rights of Englishmen; that by the royal charter, the powers and privileges of civil government are granted to them; that the enjoyment of these rights, these powers and privileges, is their support, under all their burdens and pressures; *and that this will animate and encourage them to resist to the last breath a cruel invading enemy!*' Journal of the House for 1757, p. 209.

We may bring, as another instance, the controversy which happened about this time, between the House and Council, relative to the passing of the treasurer's accounts. We need not go into the detail; it is sufficient for our purpose to mention a part of the reply of the House to the King's Council, namely,

'That the house challenged as their special rights and privileges *the sole modelling of all laws for imposing taxes on the people for the defence and support of government*, and had power to inquire into and judge of the uses and occasions, for which monies were demanded and given, and to appropriate the same; and that by the British constitution those powers and privileges were hereditary to the representatives of the people.' Minot, ii. p. 66.

It was about the year 1760, when the abuses practised by the custom house officers became so notorious, and so oppressive to the merchants of Boston, that they resolved to endure them no longer, and represented their grievances in a memorial to the general court. A committee of investigation was appointed, on the report of which, the house requested the governour's assent to certain modes of process which they proposed, and by which they might recover such money as it

appeared had been illegally withheld from the treasury. The result of these proceedings gave rise to a petition from the custom house officers to the superiour court, desiring writs of assistance to be granted, according to the usage in England. The petitioners stated, that without such writs, 'they could not exercise their offices in such manner as his majesty's service required.' Warm debates ensued. Mr. James Otis, the memorable patriot, the profound statesman, the eloquent and learned lawyer, engaged in the cause for the inhabitants of Boston. The following extracts from his plea will show with sufficient clearness his own sentiments, as well as those of many others, who were his friends and associates. Addressing the court, he says,

'I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning writs of assistance. I have accordingly considered it, and now appear, not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition—and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare, that I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villany on the other, as this writ of assistance. I argue this cause with the greater pleasure, as it is in favour of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne, that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him, than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which, in former periods of English history, cost one king of England his head, and another his throne.—Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of publick conduct, that are worthy of a gentleman or a man, are to sacrifice estate, ease, health, and applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of his country. These manly sentiments in private life make the good citizen; in publick life, the patriot and the hero. I do not say, that when brought to the test I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial; but if ever I should, it will then be known how far I can reduce to practice the principles, which I know to be founded in truth.' Minot, ii. pp. 91—94.

The whole plea is a fine specimen of eloquence, and forensick reasoning, and displays not more strongly the feelings and resolute purposes of an ardent and enlightened patriot,

than the energies of a great mind. He discovers the same sentiments throughout his admirable treatise on the Rights of the British Colonists. In this he considers the subject of taxation at large, and speaks constantly with not less firmness and decision, if with less vehemence, than Mr. Henry did the year after in Virginia. In May, 1764, the inhabitants of Boston, in their instructions to their representatives, of whom Mr. Otis was one, express themselves in the following terms.

'We cannot help expressing our surprise, that when so early notice was given by the agent, of the intentions of the ministry, to burthen us with new taxes, so little regard was had to this most interesting matter, that the court was not even called together to consult about it till the latter end of the year. There is now no room for delay ;—we therefore expect that you will use your earliest endeavours in the general assembly, that such methods may be taken as will effectually prevent these proceedings against us.' Rights of the British Colonists, Append. p. 103.

This was six months before the subject was discussed in the house of burgesses in Virginia, and more than a year before Mr. Henry brought forward his resolutions. Will Mr. Wirt say, after statements such as we have made, that, previously to these resolutions, 'no heart seems to have been bold enough to conceive of the idea of resistance by force ?' We believe, if he will carefully read the history of Massachusetts Bay during that period, he will find, that there were many hearts not only bold enough to conceive of resistance, but determined enough to enforce it, the moment the exigency of the times demanded. To mention the Otises, the Adamses, the Quincys, the Hancocks of that time, is enumerating but a small portion of those, who knew the tenure, the extent and value of their rights, and who were resolved to support them at the hazard of any sacrifice. Instead of the idea of resistance originating in Virginia, it does not appear, that the house of burgesses even remonstrated till several months after the example had been set by some of the other states,—and not until the governments of the colonies had been solicited severally by the legislature of Massachusetts 'to join with them in certain measures to prevent a stamp act, or any other imposition and taxes upon this and the other American provinces.' (Journal of the House for 1764.) Instructions to the same effect were

also voted by the legislature on the same day, June 13th, to be sent to their agent in London. 'You are to remonstrate against these measures,' say they, 'and to prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on these colonies.' The first memorial and remonstrance of the house of burgesses, bear date the 18th of December following. New York had already remonstrated, 'and in a petition conceived in such strong terms,' says Gordon, (i. 156,) 'and deemed so inflammatory, that their agent could not prevail on any one member of the house to present it.'

'The assemblies of Massachusetts and New York were alarmed—they came to some resolutions, which, with a petition from each, to the house of commons, were transmitted to the board of trade in England. They were laid before the privy council on the 11th of December, 1764. The Council advised the king to lay them before the parliament,—they were never laid before parliament—they were suppressed.' Prior Documents, p. 5.

We have been led into these details by a wish to correct some erroneous impressions, which we think Mr. Wirt's views calculated to produce. We see no reason for assenting to his remark, 'that the revolution may truly be said to have commenced with Mr. Henry's resolutions;' and much less, that the house of burgesses in Virginia led the opposition to the stamp act.' We should the more readily assent to propositions like these, were it not for the fact, that those resolutions produced no apparent effect in Virginia, or, as far as we can learn, in the other colonies. The history of Virginia contains no records of any measures of resistance, or any consideration of the subject during the five years following; and it would even seem, that the resolutions themselves were passed contrary to the general sentiments of the people. There was a majority in the house of one only in their favour, and on reconsideration the next day, the fifth resolution, and the only one, which was clothed in terms more expressive, than what had already appeared in the remonstrances of some of the states, was erased from the books by a vote of the house. And even in this resolution, we discover nothing which indicates more firmness, or a more decided spirit of resistance, than in some of the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature, which we have selected. It is as follows; 'Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and imposi-

tions upon the inhabitants of this colony ; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.'

Mr. Wirt would give us all along to understand, that Virginia was foremost in bringing about, as well as in conducting the revolutionary contest. This we conceive to be a mistake ; and it is this mistake, which we have been endeavouring to correct ; not because we are disposed to weaken the claims of one state, and strengthen those of another, in regard to the agency they had in originating and prosecuting the noble designs, which terminated in our independence ; we are only desirous, that the truth should be known, as nearly as possible, to such of his readers as are not acquainted with the subject in its various relations. That the people of Massachusetts were conspicuous, every one will acknowledge ; but that they took the lead we are not ambitious to prove. Virginia was in the very first ranks ; her councils were guided by patriotism and talents, and she was as bold to act, as prompt to decide. The point of precedence between any of the states is of very little importance, since the great object could never have been obtained, without the united efforts of them all ;—it is a matter of historical fact, on which every one can judge. We may form some notion, perhaps, of the opinion in England at the time, by the following extract from a ministerial publication of some note, printed in London, in the year 1769, and entitled A Short View of the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

'In all the late American disturbances, and in every attempt against the authority of the British government, the people of Massachusetts Bay have taken the lead. In their publick proceedings, as well as in their private writings, they have been constantly holding out to us their first charter rights and the original terms of their colonization. Every new move towards independence has been theirs ; and in every fresh mode of resistance against the laws, they have first set the example.' p. 1.

In connexion with the subject, which we have been examining, we must stop here also to correct another errour, into which Mr. Wirt has fallen. It is well known, that the committees of correspondence, established at the commencement of our revolutionary difficulties, were a most powerful engine

in promoting the harmony and consolidating the interests of the colonies, and in finally securing to them their independence. 'The house of burgesses in Virginia,' says Mr. Wirt, 'had the merit of *originating* that powerful engine of resistance.' He adds in a note,

'The state of Massachusetts is entitled to equal honour;—the measures were so nearly coeval in the two states, as to render it impossible, that either could have borrowed it from the other. The messengers, who bore the propositions from the two states, are said to have crossed each other on the way. This is Mr. Jefferson's account of it, and Mrs. Warren, in her very interesting history of the revolution, admits, that the measure was original on the part of Virginia.' p. 87.

This whole statement is quite erroneous. The truth is, the plan originated in Boston *more than four months* before it was meditated in Virginia. It was devised by Mr. Samuel Adams, and Mr. James Warren of Plymouth, (Gordon, i. 312,) and the first committee was appointed on the motion of Mr. Adams, at a town meeting, held November 2d, 1772. The committee consisted of twenty members, who were instructed,

'To state the rights *of the colonists*, and of this province in particular, as men. as christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province *and to the world*, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, and from time to time may be made:—also requesting of each town a free communication of its sentiments on this subject.' Boston Town Records, as quoted in Dr. Holmes' Annals, ii. 300.

The committee made a report on the 19th of the same month, which closes by the following exhortation to the people. 'Let us convince every invader of our freedom, that we will be as free, as the constitution our fathers recognized will justify.' Gordon, speaking of this event, says, 'the principal actors are determined upon securing the liberties of their country, or perishing in the attempt. (i. 314.) The plan of correspondence, proposed by the Virginia legislature in the March following, was founded on precisely the same principles, and for the same purposes, as the one previously adopted in Boston,—the former was merely an extension of the latter. Where the 'merit of originating' lies, then, on the part of Virginia,

we confess ourselves unable to discover. Mr. Jefferson must also have been mistaken, in his account of the messengers crossing each other; for the Massachusetts Legislature were not in session when the resolutions for adopting this plan were passed in Virginia, nor did they convene till *more than two months* afterward. They were already informed of the proceedings in Virginia, and one of their first acts was (May 28) to approve, in terms of high praise, the extension of the system of correspondence proposed by the house of burgesses, and to appoint a committee of cooperation. (Gordon, i. 327.) Moreover, we are not much pleased with the manner in which the author brings forward Mrs. Warren's testimony in support of his position. After speaking of the plan devised by Mr. Adams and Mr. Warren, she observes, 'the general impulse at this time seemed to operate by sympathy;—thus it appeared afterwards that the vigilant inhabitants of Virginia had concerted a similar plan about the same period.' (i. 110.) Although this passage proves the author to have been mistaken, it falls far short of 'admitting the measure to have been *original* on the part of Virginia.' From these statements the inference is undeniable, that the admirable scheme of corresponding committees originated in Massachusetts, and was carried into operation there, so far as to prove effectually the success of such an experiment, several months before it was proposed in Virginia. We are the more surprised, that Mr. Wirt should fall into such an errour, and dwell so much on it, since Marshall, in his Life of Washington, (ii. 139.) seems to have had just views of the subject.

Mr. Henry continued an active member of the house of burgesses till the first session of the old continental congress. He was one of the delegates from Virginia to that congress. His biographer gives an animated picture of his first appearance there—of the speech he made, and the effects it produced. He was the first speaker, it seems, who arose on the floor of the American congress;—the theme on which he dwelt—namely, the oppressions of England, and the sufferings of the colonies—was so popular, and so exactly adapted to his peculiar talents as an orator, that he is said to have filled all present with astonishment. But this, as it soon appeared, was only splendid declamation—calculated to give a momentary thrill to the feelings of his hearers, but not to lead them to new truths, to correct the decisions of their understandings, or to fix impressions, which should guide

them in their future opinions and counsels. We must allow Mr. Wirt's fairness in this instance, as well as in many others, in showing the failure, as well as the success of his hero. He has every where given a high colouring to the better parts of his character, and sometimes drawn the thread of extenuation rather too fine, but he never discovers a disposition to conceal his faults, or his ill success. His bold and splendid speech had drawn on him the notice of the house, and he was appointed one of the committee for drafting a petition to the king. The task devolved on him—but when the draft was read to the house, every countenance fell with disappointment. It was recommitted for amendment, and finally passed over. Another was prepared by Mr. John Dickinson, author of the celebrated Farmer's Letters, which was adopted.

On this occasion Mr. Wirt falls into a train of reflections, which contain much good sense, and are clothed in a style of composition more chastened, than is usually met with in other parts of the book.

'It is a trite remark, that the talents for speaking and for writing eminently, are very rarely found united in the same individual; and the rarity of the occurrence has led to an opinion, that those talents depend on constitutions of mind so widely different, as to render their union almost wholly unattainable. This was not the opinion however, it is believed, at Athens and at Rome; it cannot, I apprehend, be the opinion, either, in the united kingdom of Great Britain. There have been, indeed, in these countries distinguished orators, who have not left behind them any proofs of their eminence in composition; but neither have they left behind them any proofs of their failure in this respect; so that the conclusion of *their* incompetency is rather assumed than established. On the other hand, there have been, in all those countries, too many illustrious examples of the union of those talents, to justify the belief of their incongruity by any general law of nature.

'That there have been many eminent writers who, from physical defects, could never have become orators, is very certain; but is the converse of the proposition equally true? Was there ever an eminent orator who might not, by proper discipline, have become, also, a very eminent writer? What are the essential qualities of the orator? Are they not judgment, invention, imagination, sensibility, taste and expression, or the command of strong and appropriate language? If these be the qualities of the orator, it is very easy to understand how they may be improved by the disci-

pline of the closet; but not so easy to comprehend how they can possibly be injured by it. Is there any danger that this discipline will tame too much the fiery spirit, the enchanting wildness and magnificent irregularity of the orator's genius? The example of Demosthenes alone, is a sufficient answer to this question; and the reader will, at once, recal numerous other examples, corroborative of the same truth, both in ancient and modern times. The truth seems to be, that this rare union of talents results not from any incongruity in their nature, but from defective education, taking this word in its larger, Roman sense. If the genius of the orator has been properly trained in his youth to both pursuits, instead of being injured, it will, I apprehend, be found to derive additional grace, beauty, and even sublimity, from the discipline. His flights will be at least as bold—they will be better sustained—and whether he chooses to descend in majestic circles, or to stoop on headlong wing, his performance will not be the worse for having been taught to fly.

'For Mr. Henry and for the world, it happened unfortunately, that instead of the advantage of this Roman education, of which we have spoken, the years of his youth had been wasted in idleness. He had become celebrated as an orator before he had learned to compose; and it is not therefore wonderful, that when withdrawn from the kindling presence of the crowd, he was called upon for the first time to take the pen, all the spirit and flame of his genius were extinguished.' pp. 109—111.

Soon after the rising of congress, the Virginia convention met, for the second time, at Richmond. Mr. Henry distinguished himself in this convention by introducing a series of spirited resolutions, proposing to organize the militia and the colony in a state of defence. They were conceived in terms so strong, as to alarm even some of the warmest advocates for colonial resistance,—they were opposed from every quarter, and to support them demanded the full exercise of all his powers. The speech he made on this occasion, as quoted by Mr. Writ, is vastly the best specimen of eloquence, which we have seen among the pieces attributed to him. The extract, which we make, shows, in decided marks, the character of the whole.

'He had,' he said, 'but one lamp by which his feet were guided; and that was the lamp of experience. He knew of no way of judging of the future, but by the past. And judging by the past, he wished to know what there had been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen had been pleased to solace themselves and the

house? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land? Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation—the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir; she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains, which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we any thing new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done every thing that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestible privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight!—I repeat it, sir, we must fight!! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us!' pp. 120–122.

An event happened about this time, which brought Mr. Henry forward in another point of view. The gunpowder in the magazine at Williamsburgh had been secretly withdrawn,

by Lord Dunmore's orders, to an armed vessel lying in the river. This caused an instantaneous excitement throughout the colony. Mr. Henry put himself at the head of a large body of volunteers, collected from his native county, and marched directly towards Williamsburgh. Others came in from all directions to join him during his march. This bold and adventurous enterprize carried terrour into the ranks of the royalists, and induced Lord Dunmore to comply with his requisitions, while he was yet on his march. He demanded either the gunpowder, or a compensation in money adequate to its full value. The money was paid to him; after which, he disbanded his men and returned home.

He was appointed by the convention, in July, 1775, 'colonel of the first regiment, and commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the defence of the colony.' But the committee of safety seem to have entertained some distrust of his military talents, and to have committed the more important posts to officers of inferiour rank; and for some reason, not very well known, when the Virginia forces were arranged under the continental establishment, instead of being appointed commander in chief of these forces, he was superceded by two other officers. He declined accepting a continental commission of colonel, and resigned the one he held from the state.

He was soon called to a higher sphere of action, by being choson governour of the commonwealth of Virginia. He held this office three years, which was the constitutional term of successive election. He then retired into the country and devoted himself to the practice of law—was afterward chosen governour for two years in succession, but declined a re-election in 1786, because his salary was not sufficient to support his family, and discharge the debts, in which he found himself involved. His pecuniary circumstances compelled him again to resort to his profession, 'and during six years he attended regularly the district courts of Prince Edward and New London.'

In 1788, the celebrated Virginia convention for adopting the constitution met at Richmond. The different states, under the administration of the old congress, were far from enjoying an equalization of privileges; and it is not to be supposed, that such an equalization could have been introduced without exciting, in some quarters, alarm and disaffection. The local interests of the commercial and agricultural states were in

many respects so opposite, as to render it impossible to devise any system of rules, by which they should be made to contribute their due share to the support of the union, without a sacrifice disproportionate to the advantages they should respectively receive. Objections to the new constitution were accordingly started. Mr. Henry was a member of the Virginia convention, and took a leading part in the opposition. He opposed the constitution totally and in detail, and urged his objections with great earnestness. But they had little weight with the majority of the convention;—after a debate of twenty days, the constitution was adopted. Mr. Henry proposed certain amendments, and a bill of rights, which were accepted.

This convention was highly eminent for the talents and political knowledge of many of its members. On a careful perusal of the volume of Debates, which has been published, few would suppose, we believe, from these debates alone, that Mr. Henry was the first orator, or the greatest man in the house. There is certainly in his speeches much more of declamation than oratory; the soul of eloquence is wanting—they neither convince nor persuade—they frequently surprize you with the boldness, novelty, and eccentricities, which they discover—they distract, and confound, and perhaps unsettle for a moment your former opinions, but you feel no conviction—a single reflection brings you back, and leaves you more firmly fixed if possible in your first decisions. You look in vain for the method, the learning, the logical array of arguments, and just conclusions, which distinguish the speeches of Randolph, Madison, Marshall, Lee, and others, who acted conspicuous parts in these debates; nor do you find that simplicity—artless play of the imagination—rich vein of sprightly thought, and happy intermixture of well chosen and well sustained fignres, with just and animated description, which are essential to finished specimens of oratory.

Mr Henry seems to have gone to the convention with a determination to oppose every thing;—it was not the most obnoxious only, but every article, to which he objected. He was equally eloquent, and equally vehement against them all—he was full of his alarms, his fears, and his tremblings. He conjured up innumerable spirits, clothed them in most hideous shapes, and started with terrour at the frightful phantoms of his own fancy. He confined himself to no limits of discussion—he ranged through all space, analyzed all the governments of which he appeared to know any thing, put in requisi-

tion his whole stock of political, historical, and practical knowledge, and kept the pinions of his imagination perpetually in motion. In short, every thing of which he had any conception, within the whole compass of nature and art, and which could afford a topick, or give an opportunity for oratorical display, seems to have been brought forward in the long parade of speeches, which he made at this convention. You will often follow him through an extended series of remarks, interrogatories, and exclamations, without discovering a resemblance of analogy between them and the subject of debate; and had all the members declaimed with as much looseness, and disregard to the rules of publick debate, as he did, we verily believe they might have gone on till doomsday, without ever arriving at a conclusion, or becoming much better acquainted with the merits of the cause. In the course of the debate, general Lee, in referring to Mr. Henry, makes the following remarks.

'On so important an occasion, and before so respectable a body, I expected a new display of his powers of oratory;—but instead of proceeding to investigate the merits of the new plan of government, the worthy character informed us of horrours, which he felt, of apprehensions in his mind, which made him tremblingly fearful of the fate of the commonwealth. Mr. Chairman, was it proper to appeal to the fear of this house? The question before us belongs to the judgment of this house. I trust he is come to judge, and not to alarm. He sat down as he began, leaving us to ruminate on the horrours which he opened with.' Virginia Debates, 41.

We will select two or three passages at random from Mr. Henry's speeches, which appear to us to be any thing rather than specimens of good taste, eloquence or argument.

'The *power of direct taxation* was called by the honourable gentleman the *soul* of the government:—another gentleman called it the *lungs* of the government. If money be the vitals of congress, is it not *precious for those individuals* from whom it is to be taken? Must I give my soul—my lungs, to congress? Congress must have our souls—the state must have our souls. This is dishonourable and disgraceful. If you part from this, which the honourable gentleman tells you is the soul of congress, you will be inevitably ruined. I tell you they shall not have the souls of Virginia.' p. 113.

'The means, says the gentleman, must be commensurate to the end. How does this apply?—All things in common are left with

this government. *There being an infinitude in the government*, there must be an infinitude of means to carry it on. This is a sort of mathematical government, that may appear well on paper, but cannot sustain examination, or be safely reduced to practice. The delegation of power to an adequate number of representatives, and an unimpeded reversion of it back to the people at short periods, form the principal traits of a republican government. The idea of a republican government in that paper is something superiour to the poor people. The governing persons are the servants of the people. *Then the servants are greater than their masters; because it includes infinitude, and infinitude excludes every idea of subordination. In this the creature has destroyed, and soared above the creator.*' p. 281.

'I *see* beings of a higher order anxious concerning our decision. When I *see* beyond the horizon, that binds human eyes, and look at the final consummation of all human things, and *see* those intelligent beings, which inhabit the ethereal mansions, reviewing the political decisions and revolutions which in the progress of time will happen in America, and the consequent happiness or misery of mankind—I am led to believe that much of the *account on one side or the other* will depend on what we now decide.' p. 446.

But after all, there are many things besides faults in these speeches. There are not wanting marks of uncommon talents of a peculiar kind. They show a mind of no ordinary scope and comprehension—a mind, which had looked with a discriminating eye into the affairs of men, examined the motives of human action, and thought closely on the nature of governments;—they show an imagination vigorous and fertile, but irregular and excursive—unconfined in its flights and rude in its sports. In regard to the constitution Mr. Henry seems to have been under a kind of spell—a magical delusion of the understanding. He looks at all objects with disordered opticks, or through a distorting and deceptive medium—the speculum of his mind reflects no images distinctly. His reasonings are no where adequate to the vehemence with which he urges his objections; and the experience of thirty years has proved, that his fears were as empty, as his objections groundless. It has been remarked, that Hamilton thought the constitution defective on principles directly opposite to those of Mr. Henry—the former feared the weakness and inefficiency of such a government, while the latter looked on its energies as fatal to the liberties of the people.

After this convention Mr. Henry was annually chosen a member of the Virginia assembly till the spring of 1791, when he declined an election, 'and never again made his appearance in a publick character.' During this year the cause relative to the British debts, which produced some excitement at the time, was brought before the Virginia court. Mr. Henry was one of the counsel for the defendant, and on this occasion 'he made what has been considered his most distinguished display of professional talents.' His argument continued three days, and more than fifty pages of the Sketches of the Life of Patrick Henry are taken up with an abstract of this argument, together with the author's comments. This is a trespass altogether unreasonable on the patience and good nature of his readers, and unpardonable even on the rambling and immethodical plan, which he has thought proper to adopt. Mr. Henry continued in the practice of the law till 1794, 'when he bade a final adieu to his profession, and retired to the bosom of his family.'

'I have not attempted,' says the author, 'in the course of these sketches, to follow Mr. Henry through his professional career. I have no materials to justify such an attempt. It has been, indeed, stated to me, in general, that he appeared in such and such a case, and that he shone with great lustre; but neither his speeches in those cases, nor any point of his argument, nor even any brilliant passage has been communicated, so that the sketch that could be given of them, must be either confined to a meagre catalogue of the causes, or the canvass must be filled up by my own fancy, which would at once be an act of injustice to Mr. Henry, and a departure from that historical veracity, which it has been my anxious study, in every instance, to observe.' p. 375.

This was the period in which the tide of parties began to run high in Virginia. The author has drawn a lively picture of the origin of these parties, in which it gives us pleasure to trace the same marks of candour and impartiality, which we have mentioned above, as being conspicuous traits in other parts of the book. He goes into these details in order to exculpate Mr. Henry in some degree from the charge of political apostacy, which had been urged against him, in the latter part of his life. But we think he really takes too much pains to palliate what he calls the guilt of his political aberrations. The evidence, which he gives of such aberrations, is not sufficient to demand any palliation.

Mr. Henry had been opposed to the adoption of the constitution, it is true, but in his last speech to the convention, he declared 'he would be a peaceable citizen,' and after it had been acceded to by all the states, and made the basis of union between them, he was willing it should be administered on its own principles, and be allowed to prove its strength and utility by its effects on the political and civil interests of his country. He was a friend to the first and second administrations; but this was entirely consistent with his objections to the form of the government administered. We think, however, this fact affords additional confirmation of a remark, which we made above, that he seems to have been under a kind of inexplicable infatuation in his conduct at the convention;—his actions there do not appear to have been in exact concert with the impressions of his calmer hours, and the dictates of his better judgment.

But the animosities of party did not deprive him of the confidence of his fellow citizens. He was again chosen governour of the state while in his retirement, but his advanced age induced him to decline accepting the office. 'The embassy to Spain, during the first administration, was offered to him, and that to France during the second.' As a proof of this last appointment Mr. Wirt refers to the private authority of judge Winston—we know not for what reason, as it is a fact of notoriety, and inserted in most, if not all the histories of the political events of that period. Mr. Henry's letter to the Secretary of state declining the appointment may be seen in Wait's American State Papers, (iii. 423.) He was excited by the political ferments in Virginia, which were produced by the collision of parties, and in the spring of 1799 proposed himself a candidate for the assembly. He was chosen—but did not live to act the part, which he thought the liberties and rights of his country at that time demanded of him. He died on the sixth day of June 1799.

In private life, Mr. Henry is represented as having been distinguished for his mildness, good nature and hospitality—habitual in promoting the charities, and punctual in discharging the duties of life—unassuming in his deportment, frank and conciliating in his manners. He was remarkable for temperance and frugality in every station, which he occupied. The love of money was thought to be a passion rather too predominant in his character towards the close of his life. His biographer does not attempt to conceal this fault, but

endeavours to palliate it, so far as to convince us, that he always had a strict regard at least 'to the legality of the means, which he used to acquire an independence.' He would make it appear, also, that the charge, which had been urged against him, of allowing his passion for fame to degenerate into envy of his rivals, was ill founded. It is a matter of some wonder to us, how a mind, such a Mr. Henry's is said to have been, could employ itself during the long periods of leisure and retirement, which he enjoyed, even after he had arisen to high stations in publick life. He left no manuscripts, and except a few letters on the ordinary concerns of life, he seems to have written absolutely nothing. He had an unconquerable aversion to the technical parts of his profession, and never studied the law as a science. The compass of his reading was exceedingly narrow. 'His library was extremely small, composed not only of very few books, but those, too, commonly odd volumes. Of science and literature he knew little, or nothing more, than was occasionally gleaned from conversation.' 'No love of distinction, no necessity, however severe, were strong enough to bind him down to a regular course of reading.' After this, it will not appear surprizing, that he took almost no pains to educate his children.

In his concluding remarks the author asks the question, 'in what did Mr. Henry's peculiar excellence as an orator consist?' He has attempted to answer this question, but by no means to our satisfaction. His remarks, indeed, on this topick, throughout the book, are so desultory, so general, and so strange, that when combined they present an image so disjointed and ill proportioned, as to convince you at once, that it represents nothing, which ever did, or ever can exist. In one part or another, his hero is made to possess every imaginable quality of greatness—the author's imagination is incessantly on the alert, and rambling over the whole expanse of nature to find images sufficiently lofty to set these qualities forth in what he conceives to be their proper light. Not only the grandest objects in nature, but the greatest men that ever lived are gravely marshaled into similes and other figures of speech to illustrate this notable idol of his imagination. He talks of a tremendous cataract, as we have already seen, being 'like Homer and Henry.' He discovers, that Demosthenes, Cicero, and Henry each made his first appearance in publick at the age of twenty seven, and for this, and some other reasons, he tells you 'it can be no degradation to the orator either of

Greece or Rome, that his name stands enrolled on the same page with that of a man, whom 'a certain distinguished personage 'has called *the greatest orator that ever lived.*' His genius is said to have 'designed with all the boldness of Angelo; and his imagination to have coloured with all the felicity of Titian.' But even this splendid array of great names is not enough;—'he was Shakspeare and Garrick combined.' In the debate on his famous resolutions, he is said to have put forth his strength 'in such a manner, *as man never did before.*' After these examples, our readers will not expect us to draw a character of Mr. Henry's intellect or eloquence from the descriptions of his biographer. Were we to attempt it, we could say only, that he was the greatest orator, and the greatest man, that ever existed.

Although we are not prepared to acknowledge the correctness of this portraiture, we certainly think very highly of Mr. Henry's talents, the integrity of his life, and the services, which he rendered his country. He was an ardent and intrepid patriot, a sincere friend to the cause of rational liberty, and an enthusiast in his hatred of tyranny in all its odious shapes. The times in which he lived were suited to his genius —in other times we doubt if his peculiar powers would have raised him to a higher distinction, than that of an eloquent speaker at the bar. It was his pride to be considered a man of the people, and in courting their favour he was not always delicate in the artifices he used, nor very careful to support that dignity of character, which never fails to accompany a truly great mind. The secret of his eloquence unquestionably rested in his power of touching the springs of passion and feeling. He had little to do with the understanding or judgment of his hearers. If he could unsettle the mind from the calm moorings of reason, and leave it to be tossed on a tumultuous sea of doubts and perplexities, his work was done; he had only to quell the storm, which he had raised, and lead the shattered bark into such a port as he chose. It should be remembered, too, that those speeches, which are said to have produced the greatest effects, were addressed to the lower classes of society, whose feelings are always easily excited, and whose opinions are seldom founded on the basis of rational conviction. He had lived with these people—had studied their characters—was acquainted with their habits of thinking, their local interests, their prejudices—he had sought and gained their confidence—he possessed their affections, and they

were predisposed to be carried along in the current of his declamation, whithersoever he thought proper to lead them. If we add, moreover, the general excitement produced by the state of the times, particularly in Virginia, it will not be difficult to account for his success in kindling a temporary flame with materials so combustible, although nothing now remains, except in the recollections of his cotemporaries, which would give us the impression, that he was better qualified for the part he acted, than many others, whose name and whose deeds are already forgotten.

We do not think the present work will add any thing to the high reputation as a writer, which the author of the British Spy and of the Old Bachelor had justly acquired. After the pleasure we had derived from those performances, and the expectations they had raised, we were exceedingly disappointed on perusing this last specimen of his literary labours. We searched in vain for the delicate touches of fancy, the sprightly narrative, the judicious and solid remarks, which abound in them;—he is not contented to be plain, and simple, and playful, and instructive—he disdains to revolve in the sphere of ordinary mortals, to walk the humble rounds of common life, and cull the flowers, which have been gazed on and admired by every passing traveller. He is every where, but in the plain trodden paths of nature.

We were a little surprised to find so many errours of language in a writer usually so correct. We will select a few of the most essential. He tells us that 'Patrick Henry *was raised* at mount Brilliant'—that 'colonel Merideth *had been raised* in the same neighbourhood.' This use of the word *raise*, we believe, is not to be found in any correct writer. It is a provincialism, and, if we mistake not, confined almost exclusively to Virginia, and perhaps some of the neighbouring states. We have never even heard it in conversation, except from persons residing in that vicinity. It is common to speak of raising cattle, sheep, poultry; but every speaker, as well as writer, who regards the purity of his language, will avoid using the word in this sense, when applied to men. Again we are told that 'Mr. Henry's father *intermarried* with the widow of colonel Syme'—that 'Mr. Henry *intermarried* with the daughter of Mr. Dandridge.' We have heard of *intermarriages* between families, but never between individuals.—Mr. Henry 'attempted *to locate* the shores of the Chesapeake.' Truth is said to have 'set the subject *to rights*.'

We cannot close without expressing a hope, that Mr. Wirt will still find some leisure to devote to the cause of letters and taste, amidst the multiplied and important cares, which must devolve on him in consequence of his late honourable appointment;—that he will choose a subject more fruitful, and better adapted to his powers and his acquisitions, than the one, which has occupied him so long—and that he will support on higher ground the literary character, which, from his former productions, the voice of publick testimony has allowed him to possess.

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Art. X. *C. Cornelii Taciti opera ex recensione Jo. Augusti Ernesti denuo curavit J. J. Oberlinus. Cum notis selectis.* Tom. 3. Bostoniæ; Wells et Lilly, 1817.

An American edition of the works of Tacitus has, we think, a particular claim to the notice and patronage of all those, who profess to be the well wishers of our rising literature. We do not say this from a belief in any imagined superiority of the ancients over the moderns in genius or taste. We are willing to admit, that Latin and Greek are not every thing, nor even the principal thing; nay more, that there are many productions of the ancients, which are read, not for their intrinsick merit, but merely as necessary appendages to the character of a scholar. 'Non tantam habent speciem, quantam religionem;' and it is of little consequence perhaps, how soon they lose even this. Nor do we place very high on the scale of mental worth those learned labourers, who have spent their lives, in settling disputed readings, or explaining doubtful passages, in a Greek or Roman classick. It is an employment, which has somewhat of the semblance of intellectual, without tasking the thoughts to that severe work of inventing and combining, which so wears upon the nerves and exhausts the spirits.

After concessions so liberal, we may surely be permitted to express the opinion, that there are many and great advantages, to be derived from the study of the classicks. It must be allowed, that even the commentators have not been without their use; they have often thrown much light upon history, as well as upon their author; and afforded great facilities to those, who would seek, with higher views, what is really valuable in the productions of Greece and Rome. At

that early period of life, when the languages of these nations are usually learned, their study affords a useful discipline to the mind, which could not, perhaps, at that age, be so well derived from any other source. In discovering the meaning of a passage, there is not only a vigorous exercise of the powers of invention and comprehension; but in that grammatical analysis of each sentence, which is necessary for this purpose, a constant process of reasoning is carried on. By translation, a youth, while he acquires that copiousness of expression, so much insisted on by Quintilian, forms, at the same time, the habit of nicely discriminating the import of words, and perceiving their minutest shades of difference, and this much more from the dead, than living languages; because their idiom and modes of combination vary more from our own. The importance of the early formation of this habit will be obvious to those, who consider, that language is not only the vehicle of our thoughts, when we impart them to others, but the very body, in which they appear to ourselves. We think in propositions, and in proportion to the propriety and definiteness of our words, will be those of our ideas. It is true, that during the period we have mentioned, many facts in geography, civil and even natural history, might be stored in the memory. But, not to mention that, especially with the children of the wealthy, there is time enough for all these; we hold it to be a maxim, that dicipline, rather than knowledge, should be the object of education. We do not consider that youth as best taught, who has read or knows the most, but him, who carries into the world an understanding, formed successfully to grapple with whatever subject may be proposed, and most able, in whatever situation he may be placed, to think and act with sagacity, with truth and effect. The languages of the classicks, once acquired, open to the maturer taste and judgment all the stores of ancient wisdom, poetry, and eloquence. Nor is it a slight knowledge of the character and manners of a people, their habits of thinking and feeling, their progress in philosophy and morals, which may be obtained from the mere vocabulary and peculiar modes of expression, prevalent among them. To be convinced of this, we have but to recollect, how many ideas in intellectual and moral science, and even more, in the relations, duties, and endearments of domestick life, are, with their appropriate terms, common among us, which cannot be expressed in the language of the Romans.

But we have said enough to intimate to our readers, which was all we intended, with what aim, and to what extent, we think these studies should be pursued. It is time that we proceed to some remarks upon the style and character of the author, before us.

The style of Tacitus we should not propose as a model for imitation; it has something perhaps of that affectation, into which the Latin writers, after the Augustan age, generally fell. Often abrupt and involved, and sometimes so elliptical, as to be obscure, it wants that natural ease and simplicity of construction, which we admire in Cicero and Livy. Sentences perhaps are not unfrequent, in which to readers, principally conversant with the writers of the era, we have mentioned, even the grammar may seem strained. But the style of Tacitus, although it wants simplicity of structure, has all that simplicity, which depends upon the absence, of whatever is feeble, unmeaning, or unnecessary. He has, it is true, no formal figures, or studied comparisons; for this his feelings were too rapid; but he abounds in metaphors, the most bold and forcible. All inanimate nature beneath his touch lives and acts; 'terra,' says he 'horrida sylvis, paludibus fœda.' He seizes from resemblance every epithet, which can increase the depth and energy of his expressions; choosing for his purpose even more frequently analogies of effect, than of appearance; and thus employing those, which act not only indirectly through the imagination, but immediately upon the heart. There is in his style a vigor, which depends even more upon selection, than combination; and thus he often concentrates in a single word or phrase an import, which no translation can convey. His very ellipses, when habit has accustomed us to their use, bring upon the mind a condensation of meaning, which fills, at once, all our powers of conception.

But it is not for his style, that we principally admire this author; his profound views of the human heart, his just development of the principles of action, his delicate touches of nature, his love of liberty and independence, and above all, the moral sensibility, which mingles, and incorporates itself with all his descriptions, are qualities, which must ever render him a favourite with the friends of philosophy and of man.

Tacitus has been truly called the philosopher of historians; but his philosophy never arrays itself in the robe of the schools, or enters into a formal investigation of causes and

motives. It seems to show itself here and there, in the course of his facts, involuntarily, and from its own fulness, by the manner of narration, by a single word, and sometimes a general observation. Events, in his hands, have a soul, which is constantly displaying its secret workings by the attitude, into which it throws the body, by a glance of the eye, or an expression of the face, and now and then a sudden utterance of its emotions. It is not the prince, the senator, or the plebeian, that he describes; it is always man, and the general principles of human nature; and this in their nicer and more evanescent, as well as their boldest and most definite expressions. If we were not afraid of giving too violent a shock to classical devotees, we should say, that, in the particulars we have mentioned, Tacitus in history is not unlike Miss Edgeworth in fiction. There are indeed many circumstances, unnecessary to be pointed out, in which they differ; but there is in both the same frequent interspersion in the narrative of short remarks, which lay open a principle of human nature, the same concise development of character by discrimination and contrast, and the nice selection of some one trait, or apparently trifling circumstance of conduct, as a key to the whole; traits and circumstances, which, though none but a philosopher would have pointed out, find their way at once to every heart. But the historian has none of the playfulness, the humour and the mind at ease, which are seen in the novelist. He knew himself the register of facts, and facts too, in which he took the deepest interest. He records events, not as one curious in political relations, or revolutions in empires, but as marking the moral character and condition of the age; a character and condition, which he felt were exerting a direct and powerful influence upon himself, upon those whom he loved, and with whom he lived.

The moral sensibility of Tacitus is, we think, that particular circumstance, by which he so deeply engages his reader, and is perhaps distinguished from every other writer, in the same department of literature; and the scenes he was to describe peculiarly required this quality. His writings comprise a period, the most corrupt, within the annals of man. The reigns of the Neros and of many of their successours seemed to have brought together the opposite vices of extreme barbarism and excessive luxury; the most ferocious cruelty and slavish submission; voluptuousness the most effeminate, and sensuality worse than brutal. Not only all the general chari-

ties of life, but the very ties of nature were annihilated by a selfishness, the most exclusively individual. The minions of power butchered the parent, and the child hurried, to thank the emperour for his goodness. The very fountains of abomination seemed to have been broken up, and to have poured over the face of society a deluge of pollution and crimes. How important then was it for posterity, that the records of such an era should be transmitted by one, in whose personal character there should be a redeeming virtue, who would himself feel and awaken in his readers that disgust and abhorrence, which such scenes ought to excite? Such an one was Tacitus. There is in his narrative a seriousness, approaching sometimes almost to melancholy, and sometimes bursting forth in expressions of virtuous indignation. He appears always to be aware of the general complexion of the subjects, of which he is treating; and even when extraordinary instances of independence and integrity now and then present themselves, you perceive, that his mind is secretly contrasting them with those vices, with which his observation was habitually familiar. Thus in describing the pure and simple manners of the barbarous tribes of the north, you find him constantly bringing forward and dwelling upon those virtues, which were most strikingly opposed to the enormities of civilized Rome. He could not, like his cotemporary Juvenal, treat these enormities with sneering and sarcasm. To be able to laugh at vice, he thought a symptom, that one had been touched at least by its pollution; or to use his own words, and illustrate, at once, both of the remarks, we have just made; speaking of the temperance and chastity of the Germans, he says, 'Nemo enim illic ridet vitia, nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur.' Therefore it is, that in reading Tacitus, our interest in events is heightened by a general sympathy with the writer, and, as in most instances, it is an excellence, when we lose the author in his story, so in this, it is no less an excellence, that we have him so frequently in our minds. It is not, that he obtrudes himself upon our notice, but that we involuntarily, though not unconsciously, see with his eyes, and feel with his feelings.

In estimating, however, the moral sentiment of this historian, we are not to judge him by the present standard, elevated and improved, as it is, by christianity. Tacitus undoubtedly felt the influence of great and prevalent errours. That war with barbarians was at all times just, and their territory and their per-

sons the lawful prey of whatever nation could seize them, it is well known, had been always the practical maxim of the Greeks, as well as the Romans. Hence we are not to be surprised, that in various passages of his work, he does not express that abhorrence of many wars, in which his countrymen were engaged, which we might otherwise have expected from him. This apology must especially be borne in mind, as we read the life of Agricola. The invasion of Britain by the Romans was as truly a violation of the rights of justice and humanity, as that of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards ; and their leader little better in principle, than Cortes and Pizarro. Yet even here, full as was Tacitus of the glory of his father-in-law and of Rome, we have frequent indications of sensibility to the wrongs of the oppressed and plundered islanders. The well known speech of Calgacus breathes all the author's love of liberty and virtue, and exhibits the simple virtues, the generous self devotion of the Caledonians, in their last struggle for independence, in powerful contrast with the vices and ambition of their cruel and rapacious invaders.

We have mentioned what appear to us the most striking characteristicks of the author before us. When compared with his great predecessour, he is no less excellent, but essentially different. Livy is only an historian, Tacitus is also a philosopher ; the former gives you images, the latter impressions. In the narration of events, Livy produces his effect by completeness and exact particularity, Tacitus by selection and condensation ; the one presents to you a panorama—you have the whole scene, with all its complicated movements and various appearances vividly before you ; the other shews you the most prominent and remarkable groups, and compensates in depth, what he wants in minuteness. Livy hurries you into the midst of the battle, and leaves you to be borne along by its tide ; Tacitus stands with you upon an eminence, where you have more tranquillity for distinct observation ; or perhaps, when the armies have retired, walks with you over the field, points out to you the spot of each most interesting particular, and shares with you those solemn and profound emotions, which you have now the composure to feel.

If the remarks we have already made are true, it is obvious that an adequate idea of whatever is most remarkable in Tacitus, cannot be obtained from translations. The language of this author is the language of poetry, the language of association and suggestion. Although in many respects universal, yet it

is much modified, if not formed, by the habits of living and thinking, in which we have grown up. There may be a coincidence in the radical ideas of corresponding terms in different tongues; but in the innumerable trains of images and impressions, which cluster around them, which constitute their retinue of relatives and dependents, and indicate their rank and consequence, there must be the greatest variety. A word, which in one language is associated only with circumstances of dignity and interest, may have its corresponding word in another, connected with those of meanness and vulgarity.

These general remarks have a particular force, when applied to a diction, like that of Tacitus, full of metaphor and allusion. Besides, there is a life and freshness in an original, which is almost always lost in a translation. The general facts and ideas may be preserved, but deprived of all, that gave them spirit and interest. Translation seems to throw a sort of winter over the page; there are the same trees, but they are stripped of their foliage; the same fields, but they have lost their verdure; the same streams, but they are frozen. Of the translations of Tacitus, the only ones, with which we are acquainted, are those of Gordon and Murphy; and for ourselves we confess we prefer that of the former. It is very literal, and though antiquated and uncouth, often reminds us of the original. To the English reader we suppose the latter will be more acceptable. The style is easy and accommodated to our own idiom; but it is not Tacitus. Gordon is an old coin, rough cast indeed and rusty; but we can easily imagine it to resemble one of the emperours. Murphy is a modern imitation, polished and bright; but might as well be called a Louis, as a Cæsar.

We owe perhaps an apology to our readers, for entering, at this time, into the particular character of a work, so long a favourite with the learned. We have been induced to do it by an earnest desire, to cooperate with the liberal efforts of the publishers of the present edition, to encourage among us a taste for the best Latin classicks. In adding the works of Tacitus to those of Cicero, they have greatly increased the obligation, which the friends of American literature already owed them. The editions of the historian of the Cæsars, most common in our libraries and book stores, are the Edinburgh, and that of Oberlin; neither of them well suited to the character of our scholars. The former, entirely without notes, does not afford those facilities, which are almost necessary, for understand-

ing the author ; while the latter is greatly enlarged in size, and consequently in expense, by a multiplicity of notes, the principal object of which is, to settle by argument and authorities the true reading of the text.

In the present edition, which is a republication of Oberlin's text, the editor has, very judiciously we think, omitted most of the critical notes, while he retains those, which are explanatory, adding many others of the same character, principally from Brotier. He has also inserted from Brotier the pedigree of the Cæsars, with short biographical notes to each name ; containing in the whole nearly fifty pages, together with a very copious historical index. He has omitted the index latinitatis ; because, we presume, it was thought to be rendered unnecessary by the explanations in the notes. We are thus furnished with an edition of Tacitus, which, while it offers to the student all the helps, he can desire, is without any of the voluminous appendages of, to us at least, unnecessary learning ; and promises, so far as we can judge, to be more useful, than any with which we are at present acquainted. We repeat, that we think the publick already much indebted to the talents, classical learning and taste of the editor of this work ; and we earnestly hope, the publishers will find in a liberal patronage sufficient inducement to add, in due time, to those of Cicero and Tacitus, editions of Quintilian and Livy, and if possible all the best Latin classicks, which will, beside their intrinsick merit, have, to every American, the strong recommendation, that they are our own.

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ART. XI. *History of the United States, from their first settlement as English Colonies, in* 1607, *to the year* 1808, *or the thirty third of their sovereignty and independence. By David Ramsay, M. D. Continued to the Treaty of Ghent, by S. S. Smith, D. D. and LL. D. and other literary gentlemen.* 3 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, M. Carey, 1816.

ANY historical work, from the pen of Dr. Ramsay, has a high claim to respect. His character, as an historian, is too well established, either to need proof, or to require comment. Whoever had read his History of the American Revolution, or his History of South Carolina, could not fail to take up the volumes before us with more than ordinary

expectation. Such, at least, was ours; and to say, that we have read them with interest and pleasure, were but faint commendation. No American, who loves his country, could, after the perusal, say less. It were easy to characterize the work generally and honourably; but general characteristicks, as it has been observed of 'general discourses,' are, 'for the most part like large prospects, where the eye is lost by the wide compass it takes, and sees so many things at once, that it sees nothing distinctly.' Nor do we sit down merely to praise. The reviewer, not less than the historian, is bound to the observance of laws, which cannot be violated with impunity. There are canons of criticism, as well as of history, an ignorance or contempt of which must render commendations and strictures alike insignificant. One precept, in the critical code, we mean not to forget;

> 'With mean complacence ne'er betray your trust,
> Nor be so civil, as to prove unjust.'

The Memoir of Dr. Ramsay, prefixed to this work, is too interesting to be passed over unnoticed. We all love to know something of the *man*, as well as of the author. By this well written Memoir it appears, that Dr. Ramsay was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1749, and educated at Princeton college; that he afterwards commenced the practice of physick in Maryland, where he continued to practise with much reputation for about a year, and then removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where 'he rapidly rose to eminence in his profession and general respect.' 'In our revolutionary struggle, he was a decided and active friend of his country, and of freedom; and was one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of American independence. From the declaration of independence, to the termination of the war, he was a member of the legislature of the state of South Carolina.' In 1782 and in 1785, he was elected a member of the continental congress; and for one year discharged the important duties of president pro tempore 'with much ability, industry, and impartiality.'

As an historian, 'he was above prejudice, and absolute master of passion.' Who else could have dwelt upon the merits of the revolution, and 'told an unvarnished tale?' We may speak calmly of the times that have long since passed by, and of events in which we have no concern; but when we speak of

the times in which we live, or of events concerning which we can say with Æneas,

——quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui,

it is almost impossible to write or speak without prejudice; yet such was the noble victory obtained by the American historian over himself.' It was his opinion, 'that a historian should be an impartial recorder of past events for the information of after ages; and by this opinion he was always governed.' 'In society he was a most agreeable companion; his memory was stored with an infinite fund of interesting or amusing anecdotes, which gave great sprightliness and zest to his conversation.' It is but justice in *us* to record, what is omitted in the Memoir, but what, *we* know, was worthy to be written in marble, his courteous and philanthropick offices to strangers. He was equally ready to afford medical assistance to the invalid, seeking health in the mild climate of Carolina; and kindly encouragement to the literary adventurer, seeking employment in the state. In his character were blended the finest traits of the British Howard, and the Roman Mæcenas.

'As a husband, as a father, and in every domestick relation of life, he was alike exemplary. The closing scene of his life was alone wanting to put a seal to his character. He fell by the hand of an assassin, whom he had never wronged, but whom, on the contrary, he had humanely endeavoured to serve. If harmlessness of manners, suavity of temper, and peaceableness of deportment—if a heart glowing with benevolence, and a disposition to do good to all men, are characteristicks that would promise to any one security, he had not, on all these grounds, the least cause to apprehend, or guard against hostility. The fatal wound was received in the open street, and at noon-day, under circumstances of horrour, calculated to appal the stoutest heart; yet the unfortunate victim was calm and self-possessed.'

'Having been carried home, and being surrounded by a crowd of anxious citizens, after first calling their attention to what he was about to utter, he said, 'I know not if these wounds be mortal; I am not afraid to die; but should that be my fate, I call on all here present to bear witness, that I consider the unfortunate perpetrator of this deed a lunatick, and free from guilt.' During the two days that he lingered on the bed of death, he alone could survey, without emotion, the

approaching end of his life. Death had for him no terrours; and, on Monday, the 8th of May, 1815, about seven in the morning,

> 'He gave his honours to the world again,
> His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace.'

The principal publications of Dr. Ramsay were, The History of the Revolution in South Carolina, published in 1785; the History of the American Revolution, published in 1790; the Life of Washington, published in 1801; a Review of the improvements, progress, and state of medicine in the eighteenth century; the History of South Carolina, published in 1808; a Biographical Chart, to facilitate the study of History; and Memoirs of Mrs. Ramsay, published in 1811. A short time before his death, he had committed to the press 'A brief History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston.' This work, if published, has not yet reached us. It must be interesting to the christian community. The early settlement of this church, and the respectable character of its ministers, particularly Cotton, Smith, Tennent, Hollinshead, and Keith, give it claims to particular notice. 'To this church,' it is observed in the Memoir, 'Dr. Ramsay had, from his youth, been strongly attached; and this little history was meant as a tribute of his affection.'

His 'last and greatest work,' in the opinion of his biographer, is a Universal History, not yet published, but which, for upwards of forty years, he had been preparing for the press. It was to consist of a series of volumes, which, when finished, were to be entitled 'Universal History Americanised, or a Historical View of the world, from the earliest records to the 19th century, with a particular reference to the state of society, literature, religion, and form of government in the United States of America.' Such an Universal History is thought to be 'a desideratum in literature. If the execution be equal to the design, this work will be worthy of a place in the library of every respectable man in the United States, and will greatly add to the permanent literary reputation of the nation.'

The work before us was designed to be an extension of the plan of the author's History of the American Revolution, 'so as to comprehend the history of the colonies, anteriour to that event;' but the reader is apprised, that he 'may expect no more of the colonial history of the British provinces, than

what is general, and, in some respects, common to the whole, and necessary to a proper view of the revolution. All that was valuable in the author's history of the American revolution, is incorporated in this work. To it a view of the civil and military history of the colonies anteriour to the revolution is prefixed; and a history of the United States, from the peace of 1783 to the year 1808, is subjoined. From the last period, the history is continued to the close of the late war, by the Rev. Dr. Smith, late president of the college in New Jersey, and other literary gentlemen.

Our respect for the author, and sympathies with his orphan family, induce us to subjoin the following Note, which bespeaks a patronage, that will be not less honourary to the one, than kindly to the other. 'The profits of this work are to be applied exclusively to the education and support of the numerous family of the author, whose only patrimony is the reputation of their father and his valuable manuscripts. Dr. Ramsay left eight children, four sons and four daughters; of these, all the sons are minors. It is to be hoped that the generous feelings of the American people will be excited in behalf of the family of a man, whose whole life was devoted to the service of his country.'

The plan of the first volume is well adapted to its professed design, which was, to give a general view of colonial history, antecedently to the American revolution. In the execution, however, there is no proportionate regard to the several colonies. Maryland, for example, occupies but four pages, and South Carolina but one page and a half, while New Hampshire fills out nearly fifty pages, too great a proportion, of which is a transcript from Belknap's details of Indian wars and depredations. Where the history of a colony is wanting, a general historian has a good apology for brevity. The early history of Maryland by Bozman, published in 1814, came out, probably, too late to enrich that article. For South Carolina the author refers us to his own history of that state; but, though delicacy might restrain him from repeating much of what he had before published, concerning the state to which he belonged, a fuller view, even here, of so important a colony were desirable. A thorough knowledge of American history cannot, indeed, be obtained, but from the local histories of the several colonies; yet, in a retrospective survey of them, with reference to their ultimate formation into independent states, some regard should be had to their intrinsick and relative importance.

The materials of this volume are drawn from authentick sources. Dr. Ramsay was well acquainted with the primitive history of New England, and rose above provincial prejudices. He was neither beguiled by the general accuracy of Chalmers, to imbibe his prepossessions; nor seduced by the classick elegance of Robertson, to copy his mistakes. If the reader be merely inquisitive after historical truth, he may be satisfied with an assurance, that the author has been careful and judicious in the selection of his authorities, though he has seldom seen fit to name them. Such an omission, especially where large and numerous paragraphs are literally copied from preceding writers, we cannot but think exceptionable. Had the author more uniformly taken the materials, and wrought them up with his own skilful hand, his work would have had greater symmetry in its parts, and more uniformity in its style. A handsome edifice might, doubtless, be constructed by dilapidations from the Temple at Ephesus, the Lycæum at Athens, and the Pantheon at Rome; it would not, however, escape the strictures of a connoisseur, who could trace the marble to its quarry, distinguish the diversity of style and orders of architecture, and assign the component parts to their original fabricks. Similar strictures might here be easily made; but we content ourselves with discountenancing a method of compiling history, which tends to cramp genius, to prevent originality of composition, to make, in short, mere copyists, instead of such historians as have rendered Greece and Rome immortal. We know Thucydides and Xenophon, Livy and Tacitus, even in fragments. Every historian should have his own character, and preserve it. Dr. Ramsay had no need of plagiarism. He had judgment and skill, and was master of an excellent historick style. His professional and other engagements might not allow him to do more with his materials; and it may have been his intention to give the authorities. In the History of the Revolution, his originality sufficiently appears; and the grace, which it imparts to that portion of the work, makes us the more regret, that it did not accompany the whole. Compilation may resemble the bird, in fable, bedecked with foreign plumes; but this indulgence is not given to a work, claiming to be original. History should resemble the Nile, that receives, indeed, numerous tributary currents, but intermingles them in one undistinguishable and majestick stream.

To these remarks, extorted from us by a regard to present literary justice, and to future literary improvement, it is with pleasure we add, that so much of the colonial history is given in the first of these volumes, as to prepare the reader, who has not either opportunity, or leisure, for consulting the local histories of the colonies, to enter with advantage upon the subsequent narrative of the rise, progress, and termination of the revolutionary war. This portion of the history, comprised chiefly in the second volume, is substantially the same, that was previously published in two small octavo volumes, but improved in the arrangement, and by occasional additions. The character of this part of the work is so well established, that we respectfully pass by it, simply expressing our belief, that it will always hold a distinguished rank in the historical productions of our country.

Of the last volume, nine chapters were written by Dr. Ramsay. The three first of these chapters complete the revolutionary history, to which succeeds the Civil History of the United States. In this additional history the author appears, again, in his own original character, and is highly interesting. A clear account is given of the origin, completion, and adoption of the Constitution of the United States; of the principles, policy, and measures of the national government; and of the most important occurrences in our domestick and foreign relations. The wisdom of the statesman, the patriotism of the citizen, and the fidelity of the historian, are every where apparent. The candour of Dr. Ramsay deserves peculiar commendation. Though of strict republican principles, he gives a very impartial account of Jay's treaty, of the inflammable affair of Genet, and of the extraordinary mission to France. His concluding remark on that treaty, which, at the time, was pronounced by many to be pregnant with evil, is worthy of a Christian historian; 'This magnanimous policy closed all grounds of controversy, growing out of the war of the revolution. The beneficial effects, resulting therefrom, evinced the wisdom of accommodating disputes by moderation and reciprocal concession, in preference to deciding them by the sword.'

The manner, in which the subject of impressments is treated, is highly honourable to the author's feelings, judgment, and principles.

'Good humour began to return between the two countries; but it was not of long duration. One impediment stood in the way of

a perfectly good understanding. The right of searching American ships, and of impressing British sailors from them, is so strongly claimed by one, and so firmly resisted by the other, that a compromise, on middle ground, is next to impossible. Both are right, on the principles they, respectively, adopt. To the right of expatriation and the freedom of the Ocean, the Americans, from principle and interest, are friendly. On the same grounds, the British are opposed to both, and claim their native sailors, wherever found, as national property. Proceeding on these ideas, the British search neutral vessels, and impress from them such sailors, as are supposed to be born within the limits of their empire. The Americans are tenacious of their sovereignty; the British of their existence, which they consider as involved in the support of their navy. From the collisions of principles and interest, there is an increased irritation kept up between the two countries, whenever Britain is involved in war, and her peace endangered, by the indiscreet or arbitrary conduct of wrong-headed individuals. With the most honest intentions, frequent mistakes must unavoidable happen. This results from the sameness of language, and often of dialect. It is a well-known fact, that the American born children, of Irish and Scotch emigrants to the United States, often retain so much of the peculiar accent of their parents, that they might honestly be mistaken, for natives of Scotland or Ireland. In deciding on the political condition of these and others, questions both of law and fact are determined by hot-headed naval officers, acting as judges, juries, and executioners. From their decisions there is no appeal.' pp. 81, 82.

The remarks and counsels, at the close of the twenty-ninth and thirty-third chapters, deserve the attention of United America. The following is the conclusion of the last chapter, written by Dr. Ramsay.

'That peace has been preserved, between the United States and Britain, for the twenty-five years subsequently to the treaty of 1783, proves the general practicability of avoiding war. It seldom happens, that there are so many points of irritation, as existed between the two countries, for nearly the whole of that period. Britain viewed the Americans as ungrateful subjects, who, by the interference of the French, had succeeded in an unprovoked rebellion. The latter considered the former as, at first, an unkind stepmother; afterwards, a cruel enemy; next, a bad neighbour; and, lastly, an insolent, overbearing, naval power, hostile to equal maritime rights. Each charged the other with having broken the treaty. The British denounced the Americans, as a people devoid of common honesty, in neglecting the payment of

their just debts. The latter retorted, that the former, in violation of the treaty of 1783, retained, for twelve years, possession of military posts, within the United States; illegally captured their vessels; impressed their seamen; encouraged the Indians to deeds of desolation and murder; and the Barbary powers, in their piratical expeditions. For several years, hatred to England, and good wishes for the successes of her enemy and rival, France, extensively prevailed. With all these, and other excitements to contention, the relations of peace were preserved between the two countries. As this has been effected, in opposition to so many obstacles, by a spirit of accommodation, final justice, and temporary forbearance. no doubt can exist of the practicability, in most cases, of extinguishing wars, in embryo, if nations, generally, in their intercourse with each other, guided themselves by these noble principles.

'Pursuing this line of conduct, the United States, with the exception of petty wars with barbarians, on their own frontier, and on the coast of Africa, have been preserved in peace, ever since the termination of their revolution, from colonies to states. For the greatest part of this period, equal to the quarter of a century, the nations of Europe have been drenched in blood. The men, destroyed by their wars, would have constituted nations. The treasure expended would have converted wildernesses into gardens; swamps and marshes into fertile fields. It would have levelled or perforated mountains; extended inland navigation, to an incalculable extent; connected rivers, lakes, seas, and oceans with each other; and, in a variety of ways, promoted human happiness. While they were wasting their energies, in mutual destruction, the citizens of the United States, enjoying the blessings of peace, have been employed in making arrangements for the diffusion of knowledge and religion; in reforming and improving their civil institutions, for the better government of their people. Their population has increased, from three millions to six; their commerce, from small beginnings, to be superior to that of every other nation in the world, one only excepted. Their revenue has increased, from an inconsiderable sum to the annual amount of sixteen millions of dollars. Their exports have nearly doubled in price, and trebled in quantity; while their manufactures were daily extending. Such have been the effects of peace and independence in America. Happy citizens of the United States! thrice happy will you be, if you continue to walk in the paths of peace, and prudence, and virtue, which you have hitherto trodden.' pp. 86—88.

The editor having supplied what the author had omitted, on the 'Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers,

and the affairs in which Aaron Burr was implicated;' the continuators proceed with the history from 1808 to the treaty of Ghent, in December, 1814. If the narration of facts be correct, the spirit of Ramsay is 'found wanting.' It was composed, perhaps, too near the time of the events which it records, to admit of a cool, philosophical recital. The original historian, however, had presented to his successours a fair model, which, if it were merely for the preservation of that *uniformity* and *consistency*, required by the Roman critick, they should have more closely imitated.

> ——— 'servetur ad imum
> Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.'

A precept of the same well known author, to preserve a work in manuscript nine years, might, perhaps have been profitably observed;

> 'Nonum prematur in annum,
> Membranis intus positis.'

If it would not have essentially affected the body, it might have softened the spirit of the work.

The history of the origin of the war between the United States and Great Britain is drawn up too much in the style of an advocate. A sip of the waters of Lethe may, occasionally, be useful to historians, as well as to those who are accustomed to the waters of Helicon. To know what to forget, is often more difficult than to know what to remember. Dryden tells us,

> 'Poets lose half the praise they would have got,
> Were it but known what they discreetly blot.'

Why may not this be said, also, of prose writers? Much of the preliminary history of this war is discreetly obliterated.

The events of the war are recorded with apparent accuracy, but with a minuteness, disproportionate alike to the magnitude of the subject, and to the other parts of the work. The occurrences of two years and a half occupy about two hundred pages. It is a narrative, however, which, liable as it is to some exceptions from criticks and statesmen, exhibits the spirit of our soldiery, and especially the enterprise, skill, and valour of our seamen, in a light, well adapted to command the admiration, not of Britain only, but of all Europe. In its present form, it may better please soldiers and mariners, and

such citizens as love the sound of national glory ; but we should prefer the succinct manner of Thucydides, of Sallust, and of Tacitus. A deeper tinge, too, of Ramsay's mildness and philanthropy would have heightened our estimate of the performance. The burning of an Indian town and village is mentioned without stricture ; and an outrage, that excited universal horrour, is called 'a signal violation of the peace,' and an 'unfortunate occurrence.'

To whatever exceptions the war itself is liable, the results will, we hope, as our historians believe, prove ultimately favourable to neutral rights, and lessen, if not prevent, those evils, of which we have so long and so justly complained. The inflation of national pride, however, would be a serious and portentous evil. When we call to mind the *ambition* of former republicks, we deprecate the effects of this passion, should it be a characteristick of our own. We could have wished, that something similar to what we have observed of the pacifick spirit, principles, and counsels of the first of our historians, at the close of his part of the work, had appeared at the conclusion of the whole ; but we find the reverse. The American eagle is exhibited, as ready to unclench her arrows, rather than as holding forth her olive branch. Believing, as we do, that war is the greatest enemy to liberty, we cannot but consider the pacifick policy, recommended by the venerable Ramsay, adapted to make a republick free, prosperous and happy. But sage historians seem destined, like Cassandra, not to be believed, until events prove the wisdom of their counsels, and the truth of their predictions. *Troja fuit.*

As a specimen of the style and manner of the Continuators of Ramsay, we give the following extract, relative to commodore Perry's victory.

'The ocean is the usual scene of naval conflict ; but Perry and Barclay met on the bosom of Erie. Over its waves their two governments claimed common jurisdiction in the time of peace ; and in war each aspired to its exclusive exercise. The commanders built and equipped their respective squadrons. Barclay had the advantage of time in the beginning, and the advantage of force, when the contest ceased to be a competition of artizans. He eagerly sought his rival, as early as informed of his departure from Erie, with full confidence in his advantages. His vessels had been trimmed, and his men seasoned, in a previous cruise around the lake ; an advantage professional men would consider almost a guarantee of victory, against a squadron of equal force just out of

port. But the mind of commodore Perry overlooked the whole with a steady regard to the consequences; and, in the greatest extremity, enabled him so to combine manœuvre with force, as to wrest success from his opponent. No one can doubt that the issue of the memorable contest is to be ascribed to the superiour abilities of the American commander, and the skill and valour of his comrades.' pp. 249, 250.

There is a passage in the Continuation, which, to say nothing more, violates the dignity of history. 'The imagination, rioting in the glory of New Orleans, shrinks from a glance at its contrast in the tame surrender to the enemy of Eastport, Castine, and Machias.' It is altogether of a poetical cast, and must be so understood. But, as it is inserted in a historical work, it is proper to observe, that the writer appears to have known nothing of the geographical position of these villages, situated in an extreme part of the United States; of their proximity to the British settlements; of the depth of the waters by which they are accessible; of the smallness of their population; of their remoteness from the capital, and from every section, of Massachusetts Proper; of the impracticability of raising, on a sudden emergency, a sufficient number of troops to repel armed ships; and of the insignificancy of these places, compared with the capital of Louisiana. Had the enemy made a successful descent on the petty island of Ossabaw or St. Catherine's in Georgia, or at Montauk Point, the imagination might as easily have made out a contrast, and shrunk from the glance.

In the Continuation, we were sorry to find the word 'fortune' frequently used, instead of 'Providence.' One instance, after a very handsome description of Perry's victory, is the more striking, when contrasted with his own official account, equally distinguished for its brevity, modesty, and piety. The style of the victor is, 'It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake.' The style of the historian is, 'Whatever of good fortune presided over it, was on the side of the British squadron; and under its auspices, at one moment, commodore Barclay had good reason to expect the award of victory in his favour; but to the advantages of superiour force, greater numbers, and previous discipline, commodore Perry opposed energy, patriotism, valour, and enterprise. The verdict was signally in his favour. The palm was decreed to the arms of the United States.' Here the goddess Fortune has all the attributes

with which she was ever arrayed in heathen mythology, with the addition of others, that belonged to the Fatal Sisters. She 'presides over' the issue of the battle; the British commodore fights 'under her auspices;' she pronounces 'the verdict;' and, finally, she 'decrees the palm.' This is placing the reader, in good earnest, on classick ground. It had, however, been more classical, more laconick, and more intelligible to have said, at once, with Virgil,

'Sic volvere Parcas.'

The frequent appeal to those passions, which are the origin of wars, is adapted to excite a love of military glory; but it does not accord with the spirit and character of the religion of the Prince of peace. When the reader meets with 'a proud day,' 'a proud triumph,' and 'proudest hopes,' and is told that 'he will now be introduced to scenes,' where 'he will find results on which the American people may reflect with pride;' he will conclude, that the respectable divine, whose name stands at the head of the literary associates, sometimes 'nodded,' as well as Homer, if he were not, occasionally, even a 'sleeping partner.'

The style of Dr. Ramsay is justly characterised in the Memoir of his Life. The writer of it 'speaks the opinion of men well qualified to judge, when he says that 'as a historian Ramsay is faithful, judicious, and impartial; that his style is classical and chaste; and if occasionally tinctured by originality of idea, or singularity of expression, it is perfectly free from affected obscurity, or laboured ornament. Its energy of thought is tempered by its simplicity and beauty of style.'

Between this and the style of the Continuators we perceive a difference, while the predominant character of each is highly respectable. The one has more simplicity; the other has more force. That is distinguished for perspicuity; this, for animation. The language of the first is more pure; that of the last, more elevated. The construction in the one is more natural; in the other, more rhetorical. The one has fewer graces; the other has more faults. In the one, we seldom find occasion for verbal criticism; in the other, not unfrequently. Specimens of what appear to us faults in the style, are subjoined.

In the first volume, we object to *eventuated*, *renitency*, *captivated*, for captured, *aforehand*, *knack*, *auxiliary aids*; in the

third volume, in the Continuation, chiefly, we object to *bring about, cast about, counted on, shoved against, resentment exasperated, suspicions afloat, deep stake, infuriated fanaticism, undertook responsibility, prodigal of heroism, progressed, dashed* upon the retreating Indians, *jaded* [applied to *men* after a rapid march,] *peppered* [by grape shot,] *patriotick apostolick administrator of the diocese of Louisiana.**

These blemishes are observed, not to detract a particle from the value of the work, but to encourage and promote that classical purity, which is justly required in literary productions, and for the want of which the severest strictures have been made in Europe, upon American publications. The faults of admired authors are apt to be imperceptibly copied.

'Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.'

We wish to see our language cultivated, together with the arts and sciences, that America may have her classical historians, as well as her philosophers and poets. In the progress of improvement, however, we believe no time can be predicted, when the volumes before us will not be viewed as an ornament to our libraries, and an honour to our country.

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ART. XII. *Vegetable Materia Medica of the United States, or Medical Botany, containing a botanical, general and medical history of the medicinal plants indigenous to the United States. Illustrated by coloured engravings. By William P. C. Barton, M. D. &c. Professor of Botany in Pennsylvania University.* No. 1. Philadelphia, M. Carey & Son, 1817. 4to. pp. 76, plates 6.

*American Medical Botany, being a collection of the native medicinal plants of the United States, containing their botanical history and chemical analysis, and properties and uses in Medicine, Diet and the Arts, with coloured engravings. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Rumford Professor and Lecturer on Materia Medica and Botany, in Harvard University.* University Press, Hilliard & Metcalf, 1817. No. 1. royal 8vo. pp. 110, plates 10.

WE have in previous numbers devoted some of the pages of this journal to notices of works on natural science, which

* We observe an errour in vol. i. p. 85, where Philip's war is mentioned as *already* related; but the relation is subsequent, pp. 256–8.

have appeared in this country, from our own citizens. We have regarded the appearance of these works, as some of the most interesting events in our national history. The minds of our countrymen begin to feel the same influences which give character and peculiarity to our civil and political institutions. Our eyes begin to open on the broad and rich field, which solicits inquiry on every side. What is worth learning begins to be perfectly learnt. Our intellectual structures begin to be polished, and completed. Their materials are more diligently searched for, and though other nations have used many of them, we can hardly be said to be gleaners, for some of our harvests have as yet never been reaped. Men of science among us, are not in search of fragments, or ruins. Our mines can scarcely be said to have been opened. Our forests still continue the first-born of the continent. We have rivers unexplored, and a thousand hills whose flowers have only blossomed for the sun and the air. If we then are destitute of the antiquity of human institutions, we should never forget that we possess the antiquity of nature. If we want what has developed the greatest minds of Europe, we have in its place, what Europe, in its most enlightened portions, must be forever destitute of. The revolutions of nations will not always be wanting here, and the materials of history, poetry, and the drama, will be furnished us, when all that now should most interest us in nature is gone.

There are some periods of the world more favourable for every particular pursuit than others. We should infer, from facts, that the present is peculiarly favourable for the advance of science. We hear from every country almost daily accounts of useful and astonishing discoveries. Men that cannot command the materials of useful knowledge at home, are departing for distant and unknown countries. Others are returning with new facts for the naturalist, and new materials for the speculations of the philosopher, the statesman, and the moralist. There is something very peculiar in this universal intellectual excitement. There is an earnestness in pursuit, which almost promises to leave nothing unexplored, and which might hereafter cause the conquerors of nature to take up the complaint of the victor of the world. It should, however, never be forgotten, that though the objects which are the province, and materials of scientifick investigation always remain the same ; yet the means of inquiry are inexhaustible. A certain mode of chemical research, for instance, occupies

an age. The system appears perfectly well founded, and its principles seem to be the necessary inductions from well ascertained facts. But the records of this science are full of its revolutions, and prove that the political institutions of man are hardly less stable, than those of his sciences. There is hence something consolatory even in the oblivion, or uselessness of the labours of man. The mind is ever sure of materials for its operations, however vigorous, and thus an intellectual ennui never need to be apprehended.

In the midst of so much mental excitement abroad it is matter of great pleasure to feel its influences at home. To feel that we are anxious to establish intellectual as well as political relations with Europe. That we are returning the obligations we have always been under to foreign science, and that government as well as individuals are concurring to pay the debt.

It would appear from our scientifick history, that botany has far exceeded the other departments of natural science, in the degree of interest it has excited. Its first cultivators here, were Europeans, and one of its earliest teachers Dr. Adam Kuhn, a pupil of Linnæus. He lectured on botany in the University of Pennsylvania, and a very fine genus bears his name. In a period not very remote from the present, North America offered a sure harvest for the botanist. Its forests were original in all their characters, and although many of its vegetable productions were similar to those of other continents, these resemblances and identities were to be ascertained. Its flora had never been studied. Its leaves were literally the sport of the winds. The discovery of genera was an easy task, and almost every forest furnished new and highly valuable localities. By comparing the flora of this country with the valuable herbarium of Pallas, striking affinities are found to exist between the vegetable productions of North America, and those of the North of Asia, while others are discovered to be common to both countries. A page might be filled with the names of men who have at different periods come hither, to collect materials for science or fame, and volumes with the marvellous tales which enliven their narratives. The Flora of Virginia, by Gronovious, compiled from Clayton's Herbarium ; that of Carolina, by Walter ; of North America, by the elder Michaux ; and that of the same continent, by Pursh, should not be passed in silence, nor should the History of the Forest Trees of North America, by Michaux the

younger, be unnoticed. In its application of botany to the arts, this work has hardly an equal. The vegetable treasures of this continent which have solicited and received the laborious researches of these and many other distinguished botanists, are immense. The single genus of oak, as botanists have observed, comprehends within the United States more species, than Europe reckons in the whole amount of its trees. With such opportunities for distinction and usefulness it was not to be expected, that our own countrymen would long continue to look in silence, at the successful labours of others. It has happened that botany has been zealously cultivated. It has been taught at our universities, and many valuable works have at different periods been published concerning it.

Among those of our own nation, who have advanced this science, the late professor Barton deserves to be noticed. This writer owes his publick estimation to his botanical researches. He published an elementary work on botany, and a few, not very important papers, on some indigenous medicinal plants. The great work, however, on which his reputation might have safely reposed, viz. the Flora Virginica, he did not live to complete. Botany found a zealous and learned cultivator in the late Reverend H. Muhlenburgh of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The collections he made towards a Flora, and the facts he published in Europe, are numerous and highly valuable. His Catalogue contains an extensive list of the native and naturalized plants hitherto known in North America.

Dr. Manasseh Cutler published in the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a paper containing a catalogue of the vegetables of such parts of New England as he visited ; and Dr. Hossack has given the publick a catalogue of the Elgin Garden in New York.

We take great pleasure in adding to this very slight sketch of our botany, the work of Mr. Elliott, which is at present under publication. This work, entitled 'A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia,' is highly honourable to the talents and industry of the author. It takes the first rank among similar works which have appeared among us, and when completed will claim for the author the gratitude of his country, and associate him intimately with the distinguished botanists of Europe. In one department of his work, namely, that of the medicinal properties of the plants he describes, Mr. Elliott has been favoured with the assistance and talents

of Dr. James Macbride, of Charleston. From the honourable mention of this gentleman in the preface of this work, its friends must have been gratified that the author had such an associate. Dr. Macbride, in a tour through some of the states, visited New England, at the close of the last summer. Much of his time was devoted to our botany. In this pursuit his zeal was unbounded, and his high attainments and pure love of this science, were a sure pledge of his constancy, and success. In his death, which happened a few days after his return to Carolina, the science of botany has lost a faithful cultivator. We have made this passing mention of Dr. Macbride, not merely from motives of personal esteem and respect, but because we believed him worthy a place, in an enumeration of those, who had been instrumental in promoting useful science among us.

The method hitherto pursued by foreign and American botanists of carefully collecting the plants of different states, and publishing them as distinct works, will ultimately result in a perfect flora of the country. This method is one of the best that could have been adopted. The region under examination will be thoroughly explored, for the personal reputation of the individuals engaged is too immediately involved, for them to trust to any other than a personal examination of the objects of their pursuit. We should not here be unmindful of the labours of professor Bigelow in this portion of the continent. We regard his Florula Bostoniensis, as a fair promise of still greater efforts in his favourite science. Professor Barton has promised the publick a work on the plants of Philadelphia and its environs, entitled Flora Philadelphica. Of this work a Prodromus has appeared.

The preceding is a very short account of the labours which have been bestowed on the botany of North America. Of travellers who have incidently given some attention to this interesting subject, we have said nothing. We owe a great deal to the Messrs. Bartrams, for what they have done, and when we recollect that the remnant of the collection of Messrs. Lewis and Clark, consisting of only about one hundred and fifty specimens, contained but a dozen plants at present known to be natives in North America, that the greater part were new, containing many new and distinct genera ;—we cannot but join with Mr. Pursh in regretting, that a much more extensive collection, 'made on their slow ascent towards the Rocky mountains, and the chains of the Northern Andes, had

unfortunately been lost, by being deposited among other things at the foot of those mountains.'—We have consulted that part of Castiglioni's travels in the United States, which relates to our botany. This Italian traveller visited this country in 1785, and remained till the close of 1787. The part of his work devoted to plants is the larger half of the second volume, and embraces those only, which the author thinks the most useful. He gives an account of their reputed medicinal properties, among the Indians and white inhabitants, and an enumeration of their various synonymes.

Concerning the vegetable materia medica of North America, as a particular object of scientifick research, a great deal has not been written, and of that very little is to be relied on. The first work of much consequence on this subject was published by a German botanist, Dr. Schoepf, who came to this country during the revolutionary war. Except this work, no very important one on the same subject has until very recently appeared. The collections of the late professor Barton towards a materia medica have added but little to our former knowledge on the subject, and although occasionally a candidate for a medical degree has made some indigenous medicinal article the subject of an inaugural dissertation, it has not always happened that such works have materially increased our confidence in the substances investigated.

Within a very short period, however, the medical and scientifick publick have been presented with the first parts of two works, exclusively devoted to American medical botany, and conducted on a similar plan. We refer to the works which stand at the head of this article. It is a circumstance perhaps to be regretted, that two works of this kind are about to be furnished during the same age, or at the same time. Competition, and the good influences of rivalship in other cases can be of little advantage in this. For unless the author has already acquired profound knowledge, in this branch of valuable science, at least, if he is incapable of adding considerably to what is already known, and more especially of making important discoveries, his labours will be useless. Merely to compile, is very frequently to perpetuate errour, and where vague report, or even the sanction of very remote authority is at all admitted in works of this kind, as in any degree a basis for opinion, or motive for recommending an article, the profession not only remains unenlightened, but the publick may even be injured. These

works are in their very nature expensive. Artists of various kinds are to be employed for executing the plates, and the form of the volumes is one which very much enhances their expense. It is hence very unfortunate that precisely similar works, as to plan, should appear together. The publick may endure the expense, but labour may be but poorly rewarded. The works themselves may suffer, for the authors may calculate the chances of failure, and bring out their volumes as cheap as they can. We may have indulged our imagination in these remarks, more than our judgment; but as we abstained from felicitation, we thought it proper to state the grounds of our regrets.

Before we enter deliberately on the analysis of these volumes we will stop a moment to consider what is requisite to the individual, who enters on such important scientifick labours, and what we look for in such works. We have thought that he should give some pledge to the publick of his qualifications for his task. We do think he should be enabled from extensive personal observation to substitute truth for what has hitherto been merely conjecture, as to the medicinal powers of our plants; that he should either increase our confidence in their virtues, or satisfactorily show that such confidence has been hitherto misplaced. It should be no part of the design of the author to astonish or amuse. His great object should be to benefit science, and of course ourselves. The greatest accuracy should be studied in the representations of the plants treated of. If the publick are to know them in the field from their portraits in a book, those portraits should be accurate likenesses. If they have the features, and complexions of the real objects, expression need not be laboured after, and the truth of nature should never be sacrificed to the mere gracefulness of manner. We look in such works for accurate botanical descriptions. These should be as perspicuous as their nature will allow. They should be scientifick, without being needlessly technical. The references should only extend to standard works. In its medical department no time or room should be sacrificed to merely vague and indefinite reports. This part of such works is that in which the medical profession is most interested, and it should receive paramount attention. In that portion devoted to vegetable chemistry, the greatest accuracy should be studied. The author, we conceive, in all cases in which an analysis is reported, should institute experiments himself, and if author-

ity be adduced to confirm his own observations, it should not be very remote authority, and if possible, such only as has been recognised by men of science as perfectly satisfactory. Vegetable chemistry is comparatively a modern science. It is but lately that plants have been examined by the best established principles of chemical science, or agreeably to the best methods for such investigations.

It may be objected to these views, that they are two rigid, and that to delay publication until a certain approximation to perfection is made, would be to withhold many useful truths indefinitely from the publick, and perhaps to withhold them forever. Were the ordinary channels of publication closed, there might be some truth in this objection, but while they continue unobstructed, we really see no reason for giving importance by expensive decoration, to unimportant and well known facts. Such works as these under notice should deserve to be permanent. They are not like the ephemeral papers of a medical journal, which are written in haste, unexpensively printed, and then forgotten. On the contrary, their objects constitute a very important department of medical science, and generally, in Europe, have engrossed the better talents of the profession. Finally, we look in works like these for new facts, the results of a cautious and judicious course of experiments on indigenous articles, which have as yet been unnoticed; whether untried species of genera, already known to possess active medicinal properties, or of such genera as have never been medicinally employed. Accurate drawings, and descriptions of such plants, would assist to advance the science, and such investigations of them directly tend to lessen the number of useless articles, which now overburden the materia medica. These are the views which have presented themselves to us as perfectly rational; such as we think our readers will concur in, and such as will conduct us through the analysis of these works on medical botany, with the best chances of furnishing an useful account of them to the publick.

Professor Barton details at some length, in the preliminary observations to his work, the benefits that may accrue to the medical profession in America from a careful examination of its vegetable materia medica. 'From a close attention to our materia medica,' he remarks, 'and from some experiments he has recently made, he is convinced that not a few of our indigenous plants are sufficiently important to be *introduced* into the daily practice of the physicians.' (p. 13.) In the

next page we are informed that the drawings and colouring of the plates have been made by the author's own hand ; that he has been three years collecting materials for this work ; that he has delivered three courses of lectures to students concerning the plants to be described, and that he announced to his class his intention to publish this work, in May 1816.

The first plant figured and described in this volume is the *Chimaphila Umbellata ;* vulgarly called *Pippsissewa.... Winter Green.*—This is the Pyrola Umbellata of Linnæus. It appears that Michaux long thought it proper to elevate two of the species of Pyrola into a genus. Mr. Pursh has accordingly done this, and furnished the generick name, which stands at the head of the first article in this volume. A full botanical history of the plant follows, and also its chemical analysis.—This analysis was not however made by the author. It is the substance of an Inaugural Dissertation, defended by Dr. John Mitchell for a medical degree at the Pennsylvania University in 1803.—The general results of two experiments only are mentioned. The first experiment consisted in pouring alcohol upon half an ounce of the dried leaves. The mixture was exposed to a moderate temperature 24 hours, then filtered. Upon evaporating to dryness, a residuum weighing eighty six grains was obtained. ' By the addition of water to this residuum, nineteen grains of gum were procured.' Second experiment. In this, water was substituted for alcohol in the first instance. Similar steps were then followed, to those just named, ' a residuum was obtained weighing forty eight grains. By the addition of alcohol, twenty two grains of resin were procured from this remaining powder.'

From this analysis of Dr. Mitchell, the author turns to the ' Medical (we should have preferred medicinal) properties' of the Chimaphila. We have examined this head very carefully. We had already been made acquainted with the diuretick properties of this plant, and had read Dr. Somerville's opinion on its stomachick properties. The late Dr. Barton's paper had also been some time in print, and we had seen the drawing, not very accurate however, of the plant in the fifth volume of the Medico-Chirurgical Transactions. We passed through the pages of Professor Barton's work, which are devoted to a collection of these authorities, and anticipated the additional evidence of the known effects of this plant, which we were to find in the details of the extensive person-

al observation of the author. He informs us he exhibited it in four cases at the marine hospital, under his care, at the navy yard in Philadelphia, with evident good effects. After acknowledging the obligations we are under to English physicians for the knowledge we actually possess with regard to the medicinal properties of this plant, Professor Barton, (p. 27.) observes, 'and if future and more extensive trials of it in dropsical affections, should confirm the high character given to this plant by Dr. Somerville, we have much reason to congratulate ourselves on the accession to the materia medica of so powerful a diuretick; one, not only divested in its introduction to the stomach of any nauseating or other unpleasant consequences like those of digitalis and squill; but actually exerting a roborant effect on that organ, manifestly increasing the appetite, and producing very agreeable feelings in the patient, soon after it is taken.' We unite sincerely with the author in his expression of congratulation; but we think he will agree with us, that he has left a wide field of interesting, and highly valuable experiment, with an acknowledged useful article, for the zeal and leisure of some future writer on our 'Vegetable Materia Medica.' We think also that all under the head 'Œconomical use' of this plant might be very properly waved in the next edition, and what is observed on that head, transferred to the '*medical* properties.' An explanation of the plate closes this article.

The next plant contained in this work is the *Sanguinaria Canadensis* of Linnæus; the *Blood Root*, and *Puccoon* of the vulgar. A very elaborate reference is made to the authors who have written upon the plant, or quoted its character, and to their several works. These with numerous vulgar appellations of the plant occupy a page. The next is occupied with a list of 'Synonyma,' &c. together with a *descriptio uberior*, taken from the MS. of the author's Flora Philadelphica. There is a grammatical errour in the first line of this *descriptio*, which appears to have escaped the writer's notice; '*Succo fulvo exudans chelidonii*,' for *succum fulvum*.—The four succeding pages are occupied with a botanical history of this plant. The root is an interesting part of this vegetable, not merely on account of its medicinal properties, but from the peculiarities of its structure. These peculiarities, however, do not seem to have attracted the attention of the author, or perhaps more correctly, they are not very distinctly contained in his description. The size, and the col-

our are noticed, and something, not very definite however, said of its shape. 'It is commonly of the shape represented in the plate, though not unfrequently, particularly in the new plant, shorter and contorted or bent upwards.' It is important, however, to have this distinctly stated, since the premorse, or bitten appearance is very remarkable in the roots of offsets; it is in fact from the separation of the decayed root from the new one, that this bitten appearance is derived. It is difficult to conceive how this structure should have escaped the author, for it may be observed even in the dried root. We have already alluded to the plate. All the authorities quoted by the author agree that the number of petals composing the corolla is eight. The author himself says about eight. He has counted from seven to fourteen. In the plate, however, the corolla is made up of *nine* petals. This appears to be a departure from authority, if not from nature, for which we perceive no sufficient motive. The small *leaf*, which in the plate is observed to rise from the root, and encircle the stalk of the flower and proper leaf of the plant, is in nature merely a *sheath*. It may be intended for such by the author; if so, the *veins* apparent on it have deceived us. The colouring of the plate of the Sanguinaria bears little resemblance to nature. From this plate we see no propriety in the denomination the plant has received. The colouring of the root, in the copies we have seen, is unfortunate. It is any thing but red. We look in vain for the very remarkable and beautiful manner in which the flower is enveloped by the young leaf. Professor Barton has further been totally unmindful of the *length* of the petals, some of which, being longer than others, give the flower a very peculiar shape. If the author had not distinctly stated at the foot of the plate that it was 'drawn from nature by W. P. C. Barton,' we should on viewing it merely have supposed this a copy from Dr. Downey's plate of the Sanguinaria in his inaugural dissertation, badly coloured, by an indifferent artist.

A chemical analysis succeeds the description of this plant. This is not made by the author. It should not, however, on that account be passed in silence. The following quotation contains all that is said on this head. 'From the Chemical Analysis of Puccoon, made by Dr. Downey, it appears, that there is a gum, a resin, and a saponaceous or extractive matter in the root; and that the gum is in the greatest abundance. It results also from the same experiments, that the active

principle of the plant resides chiefly in the gum and extractive matter, but especially in the former.' (p. 37.) This analysis deserves notice. It was made in 1803. The author will agree with us, that the improvements made since that period in such analyses, and which are among the best proofs of the rapid advance of chemical science, deserve the notice of every one who wishes to follow its progress, and make it subservient to important purposes. We think he will still further agree with us, on this point, when we inform him, that an analysis of the root of this plant has been recently made, and that it furnishes no evidence of gum, in the substance.—Dr. Downey, however, found this to be in excess, and to constitute the most active part of the vegetable. It would be but to repeat the principles prescribed ourselves in a former part of this article, were we to venture a comment on the unfortunate tendency of the author's credulity in admitting, as authority, the analysis of a medical student, made fifteen years ago, on a subject so interesting, and requiring so much accuracy as the chemical analysis of vegetables.

'*Medical Properties.*'—The Sanguinaria Canadensis is possessed of very striking medicinal properties; it is a very powerful article, producing in excessive doses severe derangements in the system. This plant therefore, which is very common among us, deserves a very careful experimental investigation. The author says, 'but it is here presented to the physician principally for its emetick power.' (p. 37.) In the next page, however, we find this declaration; 'I have never used this plant with a view to its emetick effects.' The only trials in fact, made by Professor Barton with this article, were with a spirituous tincture of it, in three cases, and with manifest effect, 'used in the same way as wine bitters.' The authorities quoted, are Dr. Schoepf, Dr. Dexter of Cambridge, (Boston,) Mass. Dr. Downey, Dr. Thacher, Dr. Barton, and Dr. Allen. Professor Nathan Smith, now of Yale College, is not noticed, although he communicated a very full and valuable paper on this article some years ago, published in the 1st vol. of the London Medical Transactions.—It appears then that Professor Barton has not added a single new fact on the subject of the medicinal properties of the Sanguinaria Canadensis.—'Œconomical uses.'—Dr. Downey again appears, in support of the economical uses of the plant. He employed it as a dye. If what it said of the Maryland

farriers be of any importance, it would have been well to have mentioned some authority to support what '*is said.*' An explanation of the plate closes the account.

'*Cornus Florida—Dogwood.*—Nearly two pages are occupied with the names of books, authors, synonymes, &c. Under the head of 'Synonyma' the author has anticipated much that would interest us under medicinal properties, and is in fact entirely out of place as it now stands. We refer to what follows the abbreviations *Pharm. Qual. Vis. Usus.* &c. Now all this has nothing to do with *Synonyma.* The three next pages contain a very full account of the botanical history, and p. 48 is headed Chemical Analysis. This analysis is taken from Dr. Walker's Inaugural Dissertation, read in Philadelphia, in what year is not mentioned. We have not met with any other analysis of this plant, and although perhaps we should feel perfectly satisfied with Dr. Walker's, we confess we should have been gratified to have seen his results confirmed, or corrected by a series of well conducted experiments by Dr. Barton.—'*Medical properties.*'—This tree seems to possess active medicinal properties. It has striking affinities with Peruvian bark, and in some cases may be employed as a substitute, or as an useful auxiliary. 'I have never,' says Professor Barton, p. 54, 'used the Dogwood, in any form as a medicine, and therefore call the attention of our physicians to it, entirely on the authority of those who have written on the article, and frequently employed it.' The professor has therefore added nothing to our previous knowledge of the medicinal powers of this plant.

'*Œconomical uses.*'—From the firmness and lightness of the wood of the Cornus Florida, Professor Barton thinks that it may be advantageously employed for the handles of carpenters' tools, and for the manufacture of fifes, children's whistles, &c. and informs us, that the Creole Negroes of Norfolk, Virginia, substitute it for what is vulgarly called saltstick; and that their fine white teeth are a full proof of its remarkable tooth cleansing superiority. Dr. Walker made a good ink of the powdered bark, 'which was used by Dr. Walker in writing his thesis.' (p. 56.) We again would remark, that we think it is out of place to speak of the uses of plants in epizootick diseases, under the head of economicks. If they cure the diseases of horses or cows, they exert medicinal powers, and should be noticed as exerting such.—Mention is made, we think out of place, of the excellences of

an infusion of the ripe berries of the Dogwood in spirit or brandy, as a 'morning bitter' and for 'common purposes.' This we do not clearly comprehend. But unless the Professor means a 'morning bitter' to be used in *diseases*, or as purely prophylactick, and we should even question the propriety of recommending spirituous tinctures habitually even with this last view, we cannot but seriously regret, that the recommendation found a place in his work at all. To us, such hints take from the dignity of scientifick works.

*Triosteum Perfoliatum—Fever root—Red flowered fever root.* Of the plate which stands first, and is explained at the end, in this article, we shall take some notice. The leaves are the most prominent parts of the plant. There appears to be what we would call a botanical anachronism in this drawing. The leaves have acquired the size which is nearly peculiar to that state of the plant in which the *fruit* is found perfect, but the plant itself bears *flowers* in the representation. We do not think the author has been happy in his colouring of the flowers. We should hardly call the colour an obscure purple. The shape is that of *buds*, or of any thing else but flowers. Th eleaf is, in nature, entire. Professor Barton represents it as crenate. Its base is most frequently narrow when the plant is in flower; it is here represented as very broad. The fruit or berry is of the same hue as the flowers, and in the *descriptio*, is said to be *purpureo-coccineæ*. This, however, does not accord with the description of one of the most original of the cited authorities, viz. Dillenius, who expressly says, on this subject, vol. 1. p. 394. 'Saturatim ab initio virentes, *postea lutescentes*;' and in the next page of the same work, from another authority, we find the following expressions, 'floribus obsolete rubris, *baccis luteis*.' Now as Dillenius is quoted by the author, it is highly probable they meant the same plant. It is hence perfectly unaccountable to us, why Professor Barton, with such an authority, and of course with the berries before him, should have preferred in colouring his plants, an *obscure purple*, to a *yellow*. We have not been careful to notice the typographical or grammatical errours in this work. In the *descriptio uberior*, of the Triosteum, we noticed the following. In the sixth line, *axilis*, for *axillis*; in the same line *venticilatæ*, for *verticillatæ*; in the next, '*in quinque lobis auriculatis, incisa*,' for *in quinque lobos auriculatos, incisa*; and in the last line, 'Baccæ coronatæ, obovatæ, purpureo-coccineæ, tri-loculares, et semina tria dura *complectens*,' for

*complectentes.* There is no chemical analysis of the Triosteum in this work. Its medicinal powers are thus alluded to; 'in the quantity of twenty or thirty grains it is a good cathartic.' It does not appear that the author has made any trials with this plant.

'*Gillenia Trifoliata—Indian Physick.* An account of the 'medical properties' of this plant succeeds immediately to the botanical history. Its chemical analysis is wanting. 'Gillenia trifoliata,' says Dr. Barton, 'has justly obtained a place in the Dispensatories of our states, under the head of Emeticks. In many respects it has been compared to the officinal ipecacuanha.—*It has been said* that the cortex of the root exclusively, is endued with emetick virtue, and the powder of this part has accordingly been uniformly recommended for use.—*It is said* to possess a tonic power, with its emetick virtue, (Barton's collections,) and hence has been thought peculiarly beneficial in the intermittent fever. I have but little reliance on this opinion, and it is indeed of secondary importance. The dose is thirty grains of the powder for an adult.—*It is said* the country people have frequently used the plant so incautiously, as to be under the necessity of resorting to medical aid. This proves nothing but its activity. 'Economical use.'—*It is said* that the Indian physick is often given to horses to mend their appetite, and to remove their dyspeptic symptoms. Of this I know nothing myself, neither have I ever heard the manner in which it is administered to these animals.' p. 69.

In these quotations a very fair specimen is offered of the book under review. The remark of Professor Barton, on a quoted opinion of the late Professor Barton, we hope has more truth in it, than it discovers of deference. Our quotations amount to almost every thing said in the book about the medicinal powers of this species of Gillenia. We have quoted them that the publick may judge of their importance, and when we add, that they give a fair specimen of the whole work, we may safely leave it to the same publick to make an estimate of its value and practical utility. We anticipate, however, the few remarks, we intended to make on this volume, for another species of Gillenia remains to be noticed, namely the Gillenia stipulacea. Of this plant, we learn nothing from Professor Barton's work, except its botanical history, and what we learn of that, is from a letter, sent to the author by a friend. The department devoted to the 'medical properties' of this species contains the following observations. 'What

has been said by Schoepf, Barton, and others, who have quoted them concerning the virtues and doses of Spiræa trifoliata, is applicable to the Gillenia stipulacea, for reasons above given. The bark of the root is used; and the roots should be collected in September, after the tops have died. The dose is the same as that of Gillenia trifoliata; though perhaps a smaller quantity may answer.' (p. 76.) To those who have not the good fortune to procure a copy of Schoepf, or the works of the late Dr. Barton, the reference of Professor Barton will be useless. Those, however, who may procure these works, and are induced to rely on the opinions they contain concerning the medicinal uses of the Spiræa trifoliata, may perhaps come to the conclusion, that Professor Barton has performed an act of supererogation in adding the Gillenia stipulacea to the American materia medica. It must not be concealed however, that the species of Gillenia under notice has been *reported* to possess more active powers than the other plant; nor must it be forgotten that Professor Barton, who has never made any experiments with the plant, is inclined to think that it will answer in smaller doses than the Gillenia trifoliata.

Just as we had closed the foregoing analysis, the second part or number of Professor Barton's work came to hand. It appears to differ from the first principally in its plates and the names, synonymes, and references it contains. Precisely the same manner is observed in treating each plant, and the author as scrupulously withholds his own observations and experience concerning them, or as ingenuously declares he knows nothing of their uses, as he has done in the former number. One of the plants, Symplocarpus Angustispatha, as the author calls it, is introduced into his book, without a single medical fact being told of it, either directly or indirectly, and we are at a loss to conceive on what grounds it is intitled to a place in the vegetable materia medica. This, however, is not the only circumstance which has struck us as unfortunate in this volume. Another is the great redundancy of useless references, which not only occupy pages, but which the author could never seriously have imagined, would ever be of the least utility. We cannot indeed visit Japan, nor even Holland nor Germany, to consult authorities for the study of our own plants.

There is one other circumstance, and this is the last we mean to notice, which seems to us peculiarly to be regretted in this number. We now refer to the perpetual recurrence of

errours in the author's Latin, of which no small portion is contained in both numbers of his work. Among the requisites enumerated by us as almost essential to an author of such works as these, we did not insist on, or include high classical or literary attainments. It was to be presumed, as there was no reason to the contrary, that authors on such subjects would carefully avoid every thing which might discover any incompetency to their task, and especially the unnecessary use of a language, of which they might be grossly ignorant. Professor Barton however has needlessly thrown himself into the toils of the Latin language, and certainly we have never met with any one who has extricated himself more miserably. This second part of his work may therefore be further distinguished from the first, by its greater and more frequent violations of classical purity. From many others we have selected the following, as proofs of what has now been asserted; 'pedales,' for *pedes;* 'petiola,' for *petioli;* 'viride,' several times over for *viridi;* 'linearis,' for *linearibus;* 'seminis,' for *seminibus* 'stigma globosa,' for *globosum,* 'segmentibus,' for *segmentis;* the phrase, *consisting of two cells,* is rendered, 'duarum loculorum sistens,' and last, though not least, 'Habitat a Canada ad Georgiam *tenus.*'

Now these are not trivial mistakes; such as might be put to the account of errours of the press. We wish we could find for them such an apology, for in a work of such pretensions, such size, so decorated and so costly, Europe may look for a specimen of our literature as well as our science, and in this view we cannot but regard such abuses of language, even of a dead one, as a serious disgrace to the country. These are not the errours of a hasty composition, which might be venial if found in company with some classical elegance, or even with corrections. They are a fair specimen of the whole, and discover in their writer a radical ignorance, not only of the construction of sentences, of simple syntax, but of the most simple and familiar governments, and even of the declensions of nouns. We think we can hardly be accused of unjustifiable severity in these remarks. An author may fail to advance our science, and with impunity, nay the attempt may be considered honourable; but we can find no apology for him, who, from gross ignorance, inflicts a deep wound on our literary reputation.

But it is time to say something of the other work which we have placed at the head of this article.

'Under the title of American Medical Botany, it is my intention to offer to the publick a series of coloured engravings of those native plants, which possess properties deserving the attention of medical practitioners. The plan will likewise include vegetables of particular utility in diet and the arts; also poisonous plants which must be known, that they may be avoided. In making the selection, I have endeavoured to be guided by positive evidence of important qualities, and not by the insufficient testimony of popular report. In treating of each plant, its botanical history will be given; the result of such chemical examinations as I have been able to make of its constituent parts, and lastly its medical history. The botanical account will be found more diffuse than is necessary for exclusive botanists. The chemical inquiries are made chiefly with a view to pharmaceutical preparations of each plant, or to interesting principles it may contain. Its medical history will contain such facts, relative to its operation on the human system, as are known to me from my own observation, or the evidence of those, who are qualified to form correct opinions on the subject.' p. x.

We offer no apology for this quotation from Professor Bigelow's work. It contains a simple expression of the author's intentions. It is our duty to examine how far they are realized in the work under review. This volume contains ten plates, and a hundred and ten pages of letter press. We should far exceed reasonable limits, were we to undertake an accurate analysis of every page. We mean to exhibit a concise view of what the author himself has done, and state the evidence which is furnished on authority.

*Datura Stramonium—Thorn Apple.* A botanical description of Stramonium, containing an account of its habits, and characters, its familiar, and scientifick denominations, with its time of flowering &c. is first distinctly given by the author. Dr. Bigelow considers it probable, that this variety of Datura is the D. tatula of Linnæus.

'The distinguishing marks laid down between the two plants are not sufficient to make them distinct species. I have cultivated them both together and watched them throughout their growth, without being able to detect any difference except in colour. Their sensible and medical properties are the same. Sir James Edward Smith has lately informed me, that on consulting the herbarium of Linnæus, the original specimens of D. Stramonium and tatula did not appear to be more than varieties of the same plant.' p. 20.

The sensible and medicinal properties of the Stramonium are next stated, its effects pointed out, when used in excessive doses, and the means of counteracting its fatal effects. On the authority of Baron Storck of Vienna; of Murray's Apparatus Medicaminum; of Dr. Cullen; of Dr. Fisher, president of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and of Dr. Archer, of Maryland, the Stramonium is recommended as a powerful article of medicine, and the diseases mentioned, in which it has been found beneficial. 'In a case of Tic douloureux of long standing I found the extract, taken in as large doses as the stomach would bear, to afford decided relief. It should be taken in large doses, and the system kept for some time under its influence.' p. 23.

The smoking of Stramonium has been strongly recommended by writers in Europe as an efficacious palliative in asthma and some other affections of the lungs. Dr. Bree, it appears, who has written on this disease, did not find the good effects from its use that others had observed.

'Certain it is,' remarks Professor Bigelow, 'that in this country the thorn apple is employed with very frequent success by asthmatick patients, and it would not be difficult to designate a dozen individuals in Boston and its vicinity, who are in the habit of employing it with unfailing relief in the paroxyms of this distressing complaint. The cases, which it is fitted to relieve, are those of pure [purely] spasmodic asthma, in which it doubtless acts by its sedative and antispasmodic effects. In those depending upon effusion of serum in the lungs, or upon the presence of exciting causes in the first passages, or elsewhere, requiring to be removed; it must not be expected that remedies of this class can afford benefit. In several cases of plethoric and intemperate people, I have found it fail altogether, and venesection afterwards to give speedy relief.' pp. 24, 25.

The part of the plant to be used for smoking is next mentioned. The internal use of this medicine on the authority of Dr. Marcet of London, and of Professor Chapman of Philadelphia, and the author's own observations of its beneficial use as an external remedy, are particularly mentioned. The results of the author's chemical examination of Stramonium, more particularly with a view of ascertaining the correctness of one detailed in a valuable dissertation of Dr. S. Cooper, are as follows.

'The same gentleman, Dr. Cooper, states,' says Dr. Bigelow, 'that upon evaporating the infusion of Stramonium, he observed a large number of minute crystals, remembling particles of nitre. Thinking it possible that these might be something analogous to the crystals, said to be obtained by Derosne from opium, and by him denominated the narcotic principle, I repeated the experiment by carefully evaporating separate decoctions of the green and dried leaves. No crystals however were discoverable at any stage of the process, either to the touch, or to the eye, assisted by a strong magnifier.' p. 29.

The formulæ for making the various preparations of this article used in medicine and their doses are next distinctly detailed. Botanical and medical references, together with a description of the plate, close the article Datura Stramonium.

Of the Eupatorium Perfoliatum, or *Thorough wort*, the next plant in order in this work, the author observes,

'Every part of the Eupatorium has an intensely bitter taste, combined with a flavour peculiar to the plant, but without astringency or acrimony. The leaves and flowers abound in a bitter extractive matter, in which the important qualities of the plant seem to reside. I find this principle to be alike soluble in water and alcohol, imparting its sensible qualities to both, and neithor solution being rendered turbid, at least for some time, by the addition of the other solvent. It forms copious precipitates with many of the metallic salts, such as muriate of tin, nitrate of mercury, nitrate of silver, and acetate of lead.' For the remainder of the analysis, see the work, pp. 35, 36.

The medicinal properties of this plant are those of a tonic stimulant.

'I have,' says the author, 'prescribed an infusion of the Eupatorium in various instances to patients in the low stages of fever, where it has appeared instrumental in supporting the strength and promoting a moisture of the skin, without materially increasing the heat of the body. I have also found the cold infusion or decoction a serviceable tonic in loss of appetite and other symptoms of dyspepsia, as well as in general debility of the system. p. 37.

The doses and proportions of this plant, and various references, with an explanation of the plate, close the article.

*Phytolacca Decandra—Poke.* It appears that M. Braconnot has detailed a memoir on the chemical properties of this

interesting article of the materia medica, in the seventy second volume of the Annales de Chimie. A careful abstract of this memoir follows the analysis of the Phytolacca, of Professor Bigelow. The author has repeated the experiments of M. Braconnot, and added others. This valuable portion of the work does not admit of an abstract, and we cannot publish the whole. It deserves, however, the careful attention of the reader.

'In its medicinal properties,' says Dr. Bigelow, 'the root of the Phytolacca decandra approaches nearer to ipecacuanha than any American vegetable, I have hitherto examined. From abundant experience, the result of many trials made in Dispensary practice, I am satisfied that, when properly prepared, it operates in the same doses and with the same certainty, as the South American emetic. Ten grains of the powder will rarely remain on the stomach, and twenty or thirty produce a powerful operation, by emesis and generally by catharsis.' p. 46.

Its peculiarities, its advantages and disadvantages are next pointed out. A letter from Dr. Fisher to the author, and the results of experiments in nearly thirty cases, made by Dr. Hayward, and others from an Inaugural Dissertation, by Dr. Shultz, add strong support to what Professor Bigelow says of its valuable emetick effects. As an ointment the Phytolacca has been used in Psora by Dr. Hayward with marked success, even where sulphur had failed. 'A case of tinea capitis of twelve years' standing, which had resisted various kinds of treatment, was also cured by this application.' p. 50. We refer to the sixth volume of the *New England Medical Journal*, for the details contained in Dr. Hayward's valuable paper.

*Arum Triphyllum—Dragon Root.* The root of this singular vegetable is possessed of an acrid principle, and of a large quantity of a very pure white fæcula, resembling the finest arrow root or starch. To ascertain in what its acrid principle resides, Dr. Bigelow has instituted a great variety of experiments, the details of which will be found in his work. The following contains their results.

'From the above experiments, which circumstances did not permit me to pursue, it appears that the acrimony of the Arum resides in a principle having no affinity for water, alcohol, or oil, being highly volatile, and, in a state of gas, inflammable. The products of its combustion, as well as its other affinities, remain to be investigated.' p. 57.

We are happy from a note to this page to find that the author is engaged in experiments on the acrid principle of vegetables. The acrid principle of the *arum* entirely disappears on exposing the root to the air, or by drying.

'The fæcula, thus obtained, loses its acrimony on being thoroughly dried, and forms a very white, delicate and nutritive substance.' It may hence become a very valuable article in the diet of the sick.

*Coptis Trifolia—Gold thread.* The dark sphagnous swamps, which in the northern parts of our continent are covered with a perpetual shade of firs, cedars and pines, are the favourite haunts of this elegant little evergeen. The coldest situations seem to favour its growth, and it flourishes alike in the morasses of Canada and of Siberia. On our highest mountain tops it plants itself in little bogs and watery clefts of rocks, and perfects its fructification in the short summer allowed it in those situations. I have gathered it upon the summit of the Ascutney in Vermont, and on the Alpine regions of the White mountains. It is here that in company with the Diapensia and Azaleas of Lapland, the blue Menziesia, the fragrant Alpine Holcus, and other plants of high northern latitudes, it forms the link of botanical connexion between the two continents. When in situations like this, we seem transported to the frigid zone, and to be present at the point where the hemispheres approach each other, as if to interchange their productions.' pp. 60, 61.

Of the plant, which interests us so much in its description by the author, and of which a beautiful and accurate plate is given, we are first presented with the sensible and chemical properties. 'The root of this plant is a pure intense bitter, scarcely modified by any other taste. In distillation it communicates no decided sensible quality to water. The constituent with which it most abounds is a bitter extractive matter, soluble both in water and alcohol.' p. 63. For the remainder of the analysis, and for its medicinal uses, the result of the author's own observations, together with its pharmaceutical preparations, we refer our readers to the work itself.

*Arbutus Uva Ursi—Bear Berry.* We pass over this plant without a particular notice. The same mode of investigation, however, it should be remarked, has been pursued by the author with this plant, which governed him in his treatises on the articles already noticed, and we regret we cannot give it more particular attention.

The seventh plate, exhibits a portrait of the *Sanguinaria Canadensis*, commonly called *Blood Root.* This plate appears to us to be an accurate likeness of the object it is designed to represent. In the shape and number of its petals it agrees with nature. Its fine white flowers, in the language of the author, proceed from the bosom of a young, convoluted leaf. The colour of the root is after nature, and the manner in which the new plants are given off is very distinctly exhibited. The flower and leaf are shown contained in their appropriate sheath. Following the botanical description of this fine plant, is a chemical analysis of its root by the author. We can only give the results.

'The experiments made on this substance, gave evidence of the following constituent principles, viz.

1. A peculiar resin.
2. A bitter principle.
3. An acrid principle.
4. Fœcula.
5. A fibrous or woody portion.'

'The medical (we have before given our preference to *medicinal)* properties of the Sanguinaria are those of an acrid narcotick. When taken in a large dose it irritates the fauces, leaving an impression in the throat for a considerable time after it is swallowed. It occasions heartburn, nausea, faintness and frequently vertigo and diminished vision. At length, it vomits, but in this operation it is less certain than other emetics in common use. The above effects are produced by a dose of from eight to twenty grains of the fresh powdered root.'

The authorities for the medecinal uses of this plant are Professor Nathan Smith, before mentioned, Professor Ives of New Haven, (in a letter to the author,) and the late Dr. James Macbride of Charleston, also contained in a letter to the author.

The eighth plate, is the *Geranium Maculatum.* For the author's analyses which are principally directed to the examination of its astringent qualities, and the results of his experience with the plant in diseases, we are obliged to refer to the work.

Plate IX. *Triosteum Perfoliatum—Fever Root.* The plate to this article agrees with nature, with the description in the book, and with the authorities referred to. The shape and size of the leaf, its elaborate finish, the colour of the flowers, and

berries or fruit, strike us as being peculiarly correct. 'The fruit,' observes Dr. Bigelow, 'is an oval berry of a deep orange colour, hairy, somewhat three sided, crowned with the calyx, containing three cells and three hard, bony furrowed seeds, from which the name of the genus is taken.' (p. 92.) To this description the following note is added;—'Pursh observes that the flowers and berries are *purple*. In all the specimens I have examined, which have not been few in number, the fruit was of a bright orange colour. If Pursh has seen a plant with purple berries, it is probably a different species from the true plant of Linnæus and Dillenius, which had *fructus lutescentes*.' The late Professor Barton and Dr. John Randall are referred to as authorities for the medicinal uses and effects of the Triosteum. Dr. Randall's interesting dissertation, read before the Linnæan Society of New England, contains the details of about thirty cases in which he used this article. The inferences are generally stated, together with an abstract of his experiments, made with a view to discover in which of its constituents its active powers reside. Dr. Bigelow's own experience, though not very extensive with this article, has been sufficient to satisfy him, that it possesses valuable medicinal virtues.

The tenth and last plate in this volume is the *Rhus Vernix —Poison Sumach, or Dogwood.*

The objects of the author in introducing this article into his work, appear to be to point out its poisonous properties, the means of remedying them, and the economical uses of which its juice is susceptible. These objects are certainly very interesting, and they are pursued in a manner to render them highly useful. The author submitted the juice of the Rhus Vernix to chemical examination, and his experiments are carefully detailed.

In closing our analysis of Professor Bigelow's work, we deem it our duty to remark that the intentions of the author, as detailed in the quotation from his preface, are never lost sight of in the prosecution of his labours. We have accompanied him, and with pleasure, through details of chemical experiments, and of medical investigations. His botanical descriptions have not fatigued, for they have satisfied us. We have seen the author in every page of his book, and have not been less gratified, when he has spoken in his own person, than when he has used the language of another. He has per-

mitted us to enter his laboratory, and to be witnesses of his manipulations; and among the best recommendations of the articles treated in his work, are the free declarations of his own experience. We have no hesitation in saying explicitly, that the work just analysed has advanced the sciences to which it has been devoted, and that we look forward with earnestness for the remaining volumes. We have not attempted a comparison of these works which we have been reviewing, either as it relates to their plates, or their other contents. Neither do we mean to institute such a comparison now. Our views have been distinctly stated, and we trust adhered to. By the liberality of quotation, these works are their own reviewers. We have furnished the materials of independent criticism,—we yield them to our readers, for we have not left ourselves room to employ them.

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ART. XIII. *Letters from the South, written during an excursion in the summer of* 1816. *By the author of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, &c. &c.* New York, J. Eastburn & Co. 1817. 2 vols.

THESE letters comprise 'occasional sketches' of Virginia, and other things. The plan is to make an excursion into Virginia and defray the expenses by writing a book about whatever the 'regular built traveller,' as he styles himself, happens to see or think of, during his tour; which plan he executes with great fidelity, insomuch that his readers would not have been dissatisfied, had he even omitted some parts of what he has accomplished. He announces himself in the title page as the author of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, two works of some celebrity in their time; and intimates in his motto that he has a jocular way with himself, and maintains throughout the journey, the air and pretention of being a very clever, queer fellow. He finds great cause of merriment in the theories about the original peopling of this continent, and seems to have shaken his sides much over geological systems. He has undoubtedly read Tooke's Pantheon, and more or less of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, for he speaks familiarly of 'daddy Neptune'—makes an elegant allusion to Phaëton, whom he calls a 'tandem gentleman of ancient times'—introduces the sisters of the said Phaëton, who 'were stiff, upright, slender *tabbies*, he'll be bound, and were changed into poplars

for enticing *Diana at a tea party*, and, what is a still better thing, mentions 'Dan Homer' as having 'kept a grammar school at Smyrna;' all which we take to be right humorous and laughable. There are also divers ingenious puns and sprightly sallies scattered through these letters; for instance, 'the spots on the sun frightened some women into the spotted fever,' and the Dutchman of Wier's Cave makes the most of a long story, 'being doubtless the best he had to his back,' and much more of the same sort, all done in the same waggish, inimitable manner. Meantime higher matters are not forgotten; the causes that can and cannot produce a division of the United States are discussed,—literature is reviewed under the three divisions of poetry, prose, and criticism—the representative system is analysed—a single combat between a dog and a pig is described, from which the latter comes off superiour, and takes the 'enemy's artillery,' videlicet, 'a hollow bone'—and wholesome animadversions are made upon short sleeves and petticoats, bankers and paper money, the mathematicks and the abominable practice of waltzing. The writer sets his face redoubtably against all imitation, and in his resolute determination to be original, he sometimes goes near to illustrate one of his own remarks, 'that every avenue to rational originality is so completely choaked up by preceding writers, that there is now no way of being original, except by being absurd.' p. 47. vol. 1. It is a lamentable thing for those authors who are under the necessity of supplying the publick with originality, that their predecessors have exhausted the stock, and we think it would be no more than reasonable in the publick to excuse them from making books, especially as it seems that every thing has been already said and often repeated. When the publick shall have the justice to grant this indulgence, it will probably cease to hear the complaints of authors who are now subjected to the hard requisition of being original at the expense of making themselves rediculous.

It seems that the author of John Bull &c. is a *Northerner*, who 'floundered' into Virginia 'with a pack of prejudices as large as a peddlar's,' and expected the first ceremony on his entering the state would be to *gouge* him and strangle him with mint julap whether he would or no; but to his great surprise he found himself permitted to look at the country and the people with both his eyes, and take as little of mint julap as he pleased. On the whole he found the Virginians, though a

little different from the people to whom he had been accustomed, not much better or worse. Now we presume that many Northern persons have arrived at the same notion without ever *floundering* into Virginia. Self-love, vanity and pride, lead most men to think well of their own family, town, state and country, and the prejudice is as salutary as it is natural. This prejudice necessarily brings with it a proportionable jealousy or injustice towards others. The advantages are, that it gives individuals and a community a character to support, and excites in them a spirit of rivalship and emulation, and makes them vigilant to watch over their rights and vindicate their claims upon each other. This sentiment exists, no doubt, in a greater or less degree in every state, and sometimes it is wrought up into a little excess in times of political excitement; but it is not, we think, in general alarmingly violent in any part of the United States; at least we do not hear any persons of our acquaintance speak of the Virginians, at present, with any great signs of animosity.

The following is a more pleasing picture of slavery than is commonly drawn, and is probably quite as just as that with which we are more frequently presented.

'The plantation is large; containing, I believe, between nine and ten thousand acres; and several hundred negroes are attached to it. Some of the females are employed in taking care of the children, or in household occupations; others in the fields; while the old ones enjoy a sort of otium cum dignitate, at their quarters. These quarters consist of log cabins, disposed in two rows on either side a wide avenue, with each a little garden, in which they raise vegetables. Whitewashed and clean, they exhibited an appearance of comfort, which, in some measure, served to reconcile me to bondage. At the door of one of these, as we walked this way one evening, stood a little old negro, with his body bent in a curve and his head as white as snow, leaning on what an Irishman would call a shillalah. He was the patriarch of the tribe; and enjoyed in his old age a life of perfect ease. You might hear him laugh half a mile; and he seemed to possess a full portion of that unreflecting gayety, which, happily for his race, so generally falls to their portion, and perhaps makes them some amends for the loss of freedom. Relying on their master for the supply of all their wants, they are in a sort of state of childhood,—equally exempt with children, from all the cares of providing support and subsistence, for their offspring. This old man is of an unknown age; his birth being beyond history or tradition; and having once been in the service of Lord Dunmore, he looks down with a dignified contempt

on the plebeian slaves around him. The greatest aristocrat in the world, is one of these fellows who has belonged to a great man,—I mean with the exception of his master.' pp. 23—25.

He gives a pleasing representation of Richmond and its former inhabitants.

'It is beautifully situated, just on the line of division between the region of sea-sand, and of river alluvions, and at the foot of James River rapids. Above, the river foams and roars among the rocks; below, it winds gently and quietly through a sweet landscape of meadows, and golden harvest fields. It was once, and until lately, inhabited principally by a race of most ancient and respectable planters, having estates in the country, who chose it for their residence for the sake of social enjoyment. They formed a society, which, I am sorry to say, is now seldom to be met with in any of our cities; I mean, a society of people, not exclusively monopolized by money-making pursuits, but of liberal education, liberal habits of thinking and acting, and possessing both leisure and inclination to cultivate those feelings, and pursue those objects, which exalt our nature, rather than increase our fortune.' pp. 50, 51.

'In fact, no young man, now-a-days, at least in our commercial places, thinks of sitting down quietly in the enjoyment of wealth, and the cultivation of those elegant pursuits which adorn our nature, and exalt a country. Sometimes, indeed, he becomes what is called a gentleman, that is to say, he abandons every useful or honourable pursuit, and either lounges away a contemptible existence in doing nothing, or in doing what he ought not to have done. But the most common fate of young men, in our part of the world, who inherit great fortunes is, to set about making them greater.' pp. 52, 53.

The writer gives a dissertation of some length upon the subject of colleges and systems of education, in which he maintains that we devote too much time to the mathematicks and too little to polite learning. It has not been our fortune to meet with many of our countrymen who are overburthened with matematical science, nor do we think skill in algebra necessarily makes a man stupid or proves him to be so. Mathematical studies form a greater part of education in France than in any other country, yet the French are not reputed to be dull. The fault of our education is not so much that it is ill directed, as that there is not enough of it. As the quantity of our literature increases the quality will probably im-

prove ; at present it is, as it naturally should be, like our manufactures, of the coarser kind and adapted to common use. But we are making very good progress towards the production of what is more rich and fine in each. If we continue to advance with our present pace, we shall in due time fabricate as good cloth as the French and as good cutlery as the English, and make as good books as either. What a deal of pains is taken by our philosophers and our writers of essays of two pages long, to account for the fact that our literature is not on a level with that of Europe ; yet to us it is much the same as to undertake to show why the Cherokees do not manufacture their own blankets, and we think that the Cherokee, who should set about making a plough or an axe, would do more towards introducing the manufacturing of blankets, than all the sages of the nation who should sit down and hold *talks* on the subject of their not making them, and the causes why they do not. Our literature is no doubt a very interesting subject, but we do not see any occasion for all the sagacity and profoundness that so many writers affect to display in speculating about it. Various projects have been proposed for bringing about a grand revolution in this particular, and making us rivals of the Europeans. The author of these letters makes two proposals ; one is, that we should have a race of original geniuses, who shall think and write like themselves, and not like the English. This is a very simple project and effects the whole object at once. It would, however, we think, be a great encouragement towards the execution of this plan, if congress should offer a bounty on all original conceptions and novel combinations of ideas, that may be invented or discovered by any native or naturalized citizen of the United States, and impose a high duty at the same time upon all importations of original matter from abroad. The other proposal is to substitute the study of the belles lettres, in our colleges, for that of the mathematicks. The students should not straiten and perplex their intellects with geometrical demonstrations or mine their way with stupid assiduity into the depths of science, as they are compelled to do by our present mode of institution—they should walk at large on the surface of learning, and sit in flowery bowers on its heights, where they may breathe a pure atmosphere and contemplate agreeable prospects. We have heard of a great many prodigious improvements that might be made in our systems of education, more especially from young gentlemen of the age of eigteen or twen-

ty years, of whom we have known some twenty or thirty, each of whom could give a short and easy process by which great poets, accomplished scholars &c. might be produced as rapidly and easily as nails or shot can be manufactured ; while those who are more advanced in life and have attained some good eminence in the world, have a pretty uniform prejudice on this subject, and are content with an old and very plain, though somewhat tedious way of becoming a man of taste, knowledge and mental refinement, which is by reading and studying night and day the most distinguished authors in literature and science, both in the ancient and modern languages. Of this we already do something at our colleges in youth, and by our firesides afterwards ; and every year adds something to the aggregate of intellectual wealth that circulates in the community, and it will continue to increase as means, leasure, and facilities are multiplied, and as the demands of publick opinion and taste require. We must wait for the gradual progress of circumstances and formation of habits. Many of the ingenious contrivances that are proposed for the improvement of our literature, are much the same, as if one were to attempt to promote the growth of a plant, by applying a mechanical power to force it upwards. We might as well think of converting our manufactories of cotton cloth into those of Brussels lace, as of transforming, all at once, our writers of reviews and newspaper essays into fine authors, and our sign painters into first rate artists. As it is, we have nothing to be ashamed of ; we already do many things as well as any other people, and some things better, and our skill is daily increasing. But of all men, those, who are complaining and proposing new schemes, do the least to help us forward—as to their schemes they are generally mere trifling, and may be ranked with machines for teaching grammar, and proposals for communicating a perfect knowledge of a whole language in six lessons—their complaints are not unfrequently frivolous and the offspring of weakness, and an insensibility to our real worth and claims as a community ; but if they are just, they certainly ought, out of respect to our national feeling, to be urged with some moderation ; as they imply facts that are somewhat mortifying to our pride.

As a counterpart to the picture of slavery which we have already quoted, we extract the following.

'The sun was shining out very hot,—and in turning an angle of the road, we encountered the following group; First, a little cart, drawn by one horse, in which five or six half naked black children were tumbled, like pigs, together. The cart had no covering—and they seemed to have been actually broiled to sleep. Behind the cart marched three black women, with head, neck, and breasts uncovered, and without shoes or stockings; next came three men, bare-headed, half naked, and chained together with an ox-chain. Last of all came a white man,—a white man!—on horseback, carrying pistols in his belt, and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing. I should like to have seen him hunted by bloodhounds. At a house where we stopped a a little further on, we learned, that he had bought these miserable beings in Maryland, and was marching them in this manner to some one of the more Southern states.' pp. 128, 129.

The two different descriptions of men that inhabit Virginia are thus contrasted.

'Whatever may be the imaginary, the greater portion of the real denizens of this part of the country are mere matter-of-fact Germans; four square, solid, and deliberative smokers, as e'er put pipe in mouth, or carried a tin tobacco-box. They are of the genuine useful class of people, who make two dozen ruddy blades of clover grow where never a one grew before—who save all they make—work harder and harder, the richer they grow; speak well of the government, except when the taxing-man pays a visit, and pay their trifle of assessment with as bad a grace as any people you will see in a summer's day. It is singular, what a difference there is between these and the Tuckahoe. The latter is a gallant, high-spirited, lofty, lazy sort of being, much more likely to spend money than earn it, and who, however he may consume, is not very likely to add much to the fruits of the earth. People are very apt to judge of themselves by a comparison with others, and the Tuckahoe, feeling himself so greatly superior to his slaves, is inclined to hold every body else equally his inferior. This sense of imaginary superiority is the parent of high qualities, and prevents the possessor very often from indulging mean and contemptible propensities. Pride, indeed, is a great preserver of human virtue, which is often so weak as to require the support of some prop less pure than itself. Hence it is, that the pride of family, and the sense of superiority, when properly directed, are the parents of high heroic characteristics, just as when improperly directed they are used as licenses for every species of debauchery, and justifications for every breach of morality and decorum. To minds properly constituted, the reputation of a father is a spur to excellence, a conservator of virtue; but to pet-

ty intellects, it is a mere diploma of folly and impertinence. The last think, because they were hatched in the eagle's nest, they must, of necessity, be young eagles, whether they take their lofty flight in the regions of the stars, or wallow in puddles with geese and swine.

The Tuckahoe of the better sort is a gallant, generous person, who is much better qualified to defend his country in time of war, than to enrich it in a period of peace. He is like a singed cat, and very often takes as much pains to appear worse than he is, as some people among us do to appear better. In short, the Tuckahoe belongs to a class of beings, among whom, in times of great danger, when the existence of a people is at stake, will be found the men who will be most likely to save or sink with their country. Manual industry seldom produces great men, and it is not often that the best citizens make the bravest soldiers.' pp. 137—139.

The following is one among the many good descriptions of scenery contained in these letters.

'I am now in the very midst of that great congregation of hills, comprising all the spurs, branches, knobs, and peaks, of the great chain which has been called, with a happy aptitude, the backbone of America. From the window where I am now writing, I can see them running into each other, as when we lock our fingers together, exhibiting an infinitude of various outlines; some waving, other rising in peaks, and others straight for many miles. Every where they are covered from top to bottom with every various shade of green foliage; except that here and there a bare rocky promontory is seen, crowned at its summit with pines As the clouds pass over, an infinite succession of light and shadow is produced, that occasions a perpetual variety in the combinations of scenery. The sides of many of the ridges are, at intervals, ribbed with forests of pine, the deep foliage of which fringes the rocky projections from the foot to the summit, broad at the bottom and ending in a point. Between these projecting ribs, in the deep glens, is seen a motley host of forest trees, all green, but all different in proportion as they are exposed to the sun, or enveloped in the shade. In some places appear extensive patches of deep red or brown, where the trees have been set on fire, either by accident, or with a view to turn the side of the hill into pasture.

'In traversing this mountain region, one of the first things that struck me was the solemn, severe silence, which prevailed every where, and only broken, at distant intervals, by the note of the cock of the woods; the chirping of a ground squirrel; the crash of a falling tree; or the long echoes of the fowler's gun, which ren-

der the silence, thus broken in upon for a moment, still more striking. But if it should happen that a gust of wind comes on, the scene of repose is instantly changed into one of sublime and appalling noise and motion. The forest roars, the trees totter, and the limbs crack, in a way that is calculated to alarm the stoutest city tourist. You can hear it coming at a distance, roaring like far-off thunder, and warning the traveller to get into some clear spot, out of the reach of the falling trees.' pp. 150—152.

The following portrait is, we think, very well drawn.

'The queer little man we used to call the little duke, who first attracted our notice, I remember, by making his appearance in our great public walk, dressed in a full suit of white dimity, with a white hat, a little white dog, and a little switch in his hand. Here, of a sunny day, the little duke would ramble about with the lofty air of a man of clear estate, or lean against a tree, and scrutinize the ladies as they passed, with the recognizance of a thorough-bred connoisseur. Sometimes he would go to the circus—that is to say, you would see him laying most luxuriously over a fence just opposite, where, as the windows were open in the summer, he could hear the music and see the shadow of the horses on the opposite wall, without its costing him a farthing.

'In this way he lived until the Corporation pulled down a small wooden building in the yard of what was then the government-house, when the duke and his dog scampered out of it like two rats. He had lived here upon a little bed of radishes; but now he and his dog were obliged to dissolve partnership, for his master could no longer support him. The dog I never saw again; but the poor duke gradually descended into the vale of poverty. His white dimity could not last forever, and he gradually went to seed, and withered like a stately onion. In fine he was obliged to work, and that ruined him—for nature had made him a gentleman.—And a gentleman is the *caput mortuum* of human nature, out of which you can make nothing under heaven—but a gentleman. He first carried wild game about to sell; but this business not answering, he bought himself a buck and saw, and became a redoubtable sawyer. But he could not get over his old propensity—and whenever a lady passed where he was at work, the little man was always observed to stop his saw, lean his knee on the stick of wood, and gaze at her till she was quite out of sight. Thus, like Antony, he sacrificed the world for a woman—for he soon lost all employment—he was always so long about his work. The last time I saw him he was equipped in the genuine livery of poverty, leaning against a tree on the Battery, and admiring the ladies.' pp. 87—89.

A well ordered village presents, on a Sunday, one of the most delightful images that can be contemplated by a mind that is either pious, benevolent, or poetical. Though it has often been exhibited, still it is as fresh and new as nature.

'After riding about a dozen miles before breakfast one Sunday morning, we came to a village, at the end of which there was a little neat stone church, almost buried in a wood of lofty oaks, under which there was a green lawn without any underwood, It reminded me of an old familiar scene of early days, and also of a great duty; and after breakfast we went with our good landlady to church. The pew was close by an open window, out of which you could see through the opening trees a little clear river. Farther on a broad expanse of green meadow—beyond that a far-fading mountain—and above it a bright blue sky. What a path for a man's thoughts to ascend to heaven! Nothing was heard but the chirping of birds, peeping sometimes into the window; or the cautious footsteps of the villagers, creeping up the aisle, until the service commenced.

'The hymn was sung first, and began with, 'There is a land of pure delight,' &c. and was sung with that plaintive simplicity we sometimes notice in the ballad of a country lad, of a summer's evening. The appearance of the preacher was as simple as his discourse; and there was nothing to mark any peculiarity, except a Scottish accent, that announced his parentage. There was no need of his proclaiming the beneficence or power of the Divinity, for the balmy air, the glowing sunshine, the rich and plenteous fields, that lay spread around as far as the eye could reach, told of the one; while the lofty mountains, visible in every direction, proclaimed the other. He left the attributes of the Deity to be read in his glorious works, and with simple pathos, called on his hearers to show their gratitude for his dispensations, by the decency, usefulness, and peacefulness, of their lives. His precepts denounced no innocent recreation, and I was told his example encouraged no vice or irregularity—not even the besetting sin of his profession, pride and arrogance. He ended his discourse without any theatrical flourish of trumpets—without seeking to *elevate* the Saviour by placing him above Socrates or any other heathen philosopher; and I believe without creating in his hearers any other feeling than that of a gentle quiet sentiment of devotion, not so high toned, but more lasting and salutary than mere enthusiasm. Another hymn was sung, and the audience came out of church, but waited on either side of the path outside the door, to shake hands and say how d'ye do, as is the good old country custom.

'There was nothing certainly in all this, but what may be seen in almost any church, and yet it made an impression on me that

is still pleasing and touching in the remembrance. I don't know how it is, but there is something in the repose of the country, and particularly in the silence and shade of deep groves, that is allied to religious emotions by some inscrutable tie. Perhaps it is because almost every object we see in the country is the work of Deity, and every object common to cities the work of man. Though we do not make the comparison consciously, yet the result is the same; or perhaps much more forcible, because the impression is that of feeling, rather than of reasoning.' vol. 2, pp. 82—85.

Though we have already made pretty free with our author's book in our extracts, yet we will take the liberty of making one more.

'One summer evening, when the mild air, the purple light, the green earth and the blue sky, all seemed to invite to peace and repose, the batteauman fastened his boat to the stump of a tree, lighted his fire to broil his bacon, and began to sing that famous song of 'The opossum up the gum-tree.' By and by a west country wagoner chanced to come jingling his bells that way, and stopping his wagon, unhooked his horses, carried them round to the little trough at the back of his vehicle, gave them some *shorts*, sat himself down at the top of the bank, below which the battauman was sitting in his boat, and began to whistle 'The battauman robb'd the old woman's hen-roost.' The batteauman cocked up his eye at the wagoner, and the wagoner looking askance down on the batteauman, took a chew of tobacco with a leer that was particularly irritating. The batteauman drew out his whisky bottle, took a drink, and put the cork in again, at the same time thrusting his tongue in his cheek in a manner not to be borne. The wagoner flapped his hands against his hips, and crowed like a cock; the batteauman curved his neck, and neighed like a horse. Being, however, men of rather phlegmatic habits, they kept their tempers so far as not to come to blows just then. In a few minutes the wagoner swore 'he had the handsomest sweetheart of any man in all Greenbriar.' The batteauman jumped up in a passion, but sat down again, and took a drink. In a few minutes the wagoner swore 'he had the finest horse of any man in a hundred miles.' The batteauman bounced up, pulled the waistband of of his trowsers, took another drink, and bounced down again. A minute after the wagoner swore 'he had a better rifle than any man that ever wore a blue jacket.' This was too much—for the batteauman wore a jacket of that colour, and of course this amounted to a personal insult. Besides, to attack a man's rifle! He could have borne any reflection on his sweetheart, or his horse;

but to touch his rifle, was to touch his houour. Off went the blue jacket; the batteauman scrambled up the bank, and a set-to commenced, that ended in the total discomfiture of the wagoner, with the loss of three of his grinders, and the gain of 'divers black and bloody bruises,' as honest Lithgow says. The batteauman waited till the moon rose, when he went whistling down the stream to carry the news of his victory to Old Potomac; and the poor wagoner went 'to take the law,' as a man says, when the law is about to take him.' ii. vol. pp. 90—92.

It will be perceived by the preceding extracts that the writer hits off characters very happily and gives same fine descriptions and narrations. These indeed constitute all the excellence of his book; but they are frequently half spoiled by the intermixture of insipid puns, flat witticisms, and degrading and impertinent allusions to the classicks and to distinguished characters. Of these we have given some examples and might add many others. Thus the Barons of William the conqueror's time are said to have had *more manors than manners;* Edmund Burke is mentioned by the name of *Neddy* Burke; and in another place, 'the fog was so thick, that I am credibly informed a west country wagoner, in crossing over the Blue Ridge, ran plump into the face of the blessed sun, and gave him a sore bruise. This explains the veritable cause of the spot which has given so much uneasiness, as I perceive, to the supervisors of that glorious luminary.' ii. vol. p. 67. We know not whether this and a great deal more of the same sort is of the author's own invention, but whether it is or not, it seems to us, if it raise a laugh at all, it is likely to be at his expense.

The writer of these letters is, as has already been intimated, a vehement enemy of imitation; he sometimes waxes more earnest and serious than is befitting for such a droll, and becomes downright angry with our ladies for copying the French and English fashions of dress, and our authors for adopting their modes of thinking. He would probably recommend to us the example of the Chinese, who are independent enough to wear shoes and caps of their own invention, the European fashions notwithstanding, or of the Wandering Arabs, who, according to Capt. Riley, have a literature of their own, and regard that of the other nations, as well as every thing else belonging to them, with contempt. As for our ladies we will leave them to the writer's mercy, even at the hazard of having our not standing by them attributed to our professional moroseness, and if any of them should freeze their el-

bows, they must submit to the mortification of being reminded by him, that he forewarned them, and in so plain a case that no one contradicted him. Leaving our modes of dress then, we will say a word concerning our modes of thinking, in regard to which it seems to us that of all nations composing what we call the civilized world or christendom, we Americans are the least inclined to a stupid imitation of our predecessors, or a blind adoption of the habits and practices of other nations. It is true that some of our countrymen, who have happened to be abroad or read only of what is thought and done abroad, and who do not look into things very deeply, refer every thing that is done here to some cause in Europe, and judge of every thing that is seen here by some foreign standard. Thus a little while ago many persons of one political party could tell who of the other had a pension in English gold, and many of this other could tell who of the first carried on a personal correspondence with Buonaparte. Thus in matters of taste, some persons cannot proceed a step except by the way of Europe; if you look at the head of a ship where is a figure of a Grecian goddess, or an Indian carved in wood for twenty five dollars, some knowing connoisseur will tell you how inferiour it is to the Belvedere Apollo; if you examine a landscape, representing a water-fall, a grove, and a village, with half a dozen cattle in the foreground, he will thereupon instruct you concerning the gallery of paintings in the Louvre; he can never pass a congregational meetinghouse without saying a word of St. Peter's at Rome, and as for natural scenery, it is enough for him to know and inform you, that the green is not English. So some persons are wonderfully wise and well informed in Europe, though at home one might mistake them for men of quite ordinary capacity and intelligence; they do not understand the affairs that are transacted about them, or in which they themselves are concerned, remarkably well; but they penetrate into the secret of every thing in Europe, and not only know what will happen there for a century to come, and how past events have been brought about as they actually happened, but also how they ought, in some instances, to have turned out altogether differently from what they have. Thus one will demonstrate to you how the English ought not, according to the rules of victory and defeat, to have taken St. Sebastians in Spain, and how Buonaparte actually gained the battle of Waterloo, but made a blunder afterwards in running away and leaving his victory behind to the enemy.

There have been, and still are, people in this country who judge and reason after this fashion, who understand what is about them only by what they know of things a thousand miles off, and who discourse most wisely upon those things, concerning which there is the least means of information. But this is by no means a characteristick of our people; on the contrary, they are remarkable for thinking and acting without any excessive deference for precedent and authority, and for judging of things from what they know of them and from experience, rather than from what they fancy they know of other nations and other ages. They are versatile, inventive, and ready to adopt whatever is better than the past or the present. This leads them into some useless and even hurtful novelties; but this is the fate of every people who are enterprising for improvement. Our commerce and our literature bring us into close contact with two nations, the English and French,—particularly with the former,—both of which are far in advance of us, in many of the arts and elegancies of life, and in much that makes an individual happy and a nation glorious. It has been by imitating each other's arts and improvements, that nations have advanced in civilization to their present pitch; France has learned musick, and painting, and sculpture from the Italians, and has attempted to learn political rights and interests from the English—the English have taken their dress, many of their useful and ornamental arts, and their tacticks from the French. It is for us to learn from both, beginning with imitating judiciously, and proceeding to rival and excel them, if we can. But this we never can do by setting up for ourselves entirely, and affecting to have a way in every thing that is wholly original and peculiar to ourselves; of which, however, we are in no great danger, as the good sense of our people sufficiently secures us against it.

There is no subject, upon which the writer of these letters dwells with more zeal, than upon the Quarterly Review. He does not speak of that work but with great indignation. There certainly have been much abuse and slander of this country in some articles of that Review, the authors of which seem to have more hatred, than knowledge of us. But after all, the United States seem to go on very well, notwithstanding the Quarterly Review;—we are sufficiently prosperous at home and respected abroad, and if Mr. Gifford, or some one of his associates, should every quarter give an article to the publick written in the same spirit as that on Inchiquin's Letters, the

happiness, reputation and dignity of this country, would not probably be much affected by his labours. It is not therefore worth while for us to get into a rage in defence of our national character against the attacks of these gentlemen. It is hardly worthy of the dignity of the country to vindicate it by falling upon Mr. Gifford with personal abuse, and attempting to show that his own character is worse than that he has attibuted to the people of this country, and predicting that he will at last be hanged.

On the whole, our general impression, concerning these letters from the south, is, that as far as they are made up of descriptions, sketches of character, and narrations, they are very amusing, pleasant reading, always excepting however the mawkish drollery with which these, as well as the rest of the work, are more or less dashed; and that in other respects the performance has very little merit;—it is meagre of information, the wit is in general poor, and the opinions and speculations are the result of superficial thinking.

## ORIGINAL POETRY.

*Translation of a fragment of Simonides.*

The night winds howl'd—the billows dash'd
Against the tossing chest;—
Danaë, to her broken heart,
Her slumbering infant prest.

My little child—in tears she said—
To wake and weep is mine;
But thou canst sleep—thou dost not know
Thy mother's lot, and thine.

The moon is up, the moon beams smile,
And tremble on the main;
But dark, within my floating cell,
To me they smile in vain.

Thy folded mantle wraps thee warm,
And thy long locks are dry;
Thou dost not hear the shrieking gust,
Nor breakers booming high.

Yet thou, didst thou but know thy fate,
Would'st melt, my tears to see;
And I, methinks, should weep the less,
Would'st thou but weep with me.

Yet, dear one, sleep, and sleep ye winds
That vex the restless brine—
When shall these eyes, my babe, be seal'd,
As peacefully as thine!

## *To a Waterfowl.*

Whither, 'midst falling dew,
While glow the heavens with the last steps of day,
Far, through their rosy depths, dost thou pursue
Thy solitary way?

Vainly the fowler's eye
Might mark thy distant flight, to do thee wrong,
As, darkly painted on the crimson sky,
Thy figure floats along.

Seek'st thou the plashy brink
Of weedy lake, or marge of river wide,
Or where the rocking billows rise and sink
On the chafed ocean side?

There is a *Power*, whose care
Teaches thy way along that pathless coast,—
The desert and illimitable air,
Lone wandering, but not lost.

All day thy wings have fann'd,
At that far height, the cold thin atmosphere;
Yet stoop not, weary, to the welcome land,
Though the dark night is near.

And soon that toil shall end,
Soon shalt thou find a summer home, and rest,
And scream among thy fellows; reeds shall bend,
Soon, o'er thy sheltered nest.

Thou'rt gone, the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form, yet, on my heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

He, who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must trace alone,
Will lead my steps aright.

## *To a Friend on his Marriage.*

While now the tepid skies and gentle rains
Of April bid the gushing brooks o'erflow;
While scarce their earliest verdure tints the plains
And cold in hollows lurks the lingering snow;—
Lone, sauntering in the sunny glade to know
If yet upon the moss banks of the Grove
That little flower of golden vesture blow,
Which first the spring receives from Flora's love;
I hum this careless strain as deviously I rove.

Not yet unlovely, nor with song uncheer'd
Is this pale month, and still I love to greet,
At misty dawn, the blue bird's carol heard,
And red breast, from the orchard warbling sweet;
The fogs, that, as the sun slow rises, meet
In snowy folds along the channell'd flood;
The squirrel issuing from his warm retreat,
The purple glow that tints the budding wood,
The sound of bursting streams by gathered mounds withstood.

And now the heaving breast, and glances meek,
The unbidden warmth in beauty's veins declare;
The gale that lifts the tresses from her cheek,
Can witness to the fires that kindle there;
Now is the time to woo the yielding fair;—
But thou, my friend, may'st woo the fair no more;
Thine are connubial joys and wedded care,
And scarce the hymenean moon is o'er,
Since first, in bridal hour, thy name Eliza bore.

And if thy poet's prayer be not denied,
The hymenean moon shall ever last;
The golden chain, indissolubly tied,
Shall brighten as the winged years glide past;
And wheresoe'er in life thy lot be cast,
For life at best is bitterness and guile—
Still may thy own Eliza cheer the waste,
Soften its weary ruggedness the while,
And gild thy dreams of peace, and make thy sorrows smile.

Such be thy days.—O'er Coke's black letter page,
Trimming the lamp at eve, 'tis mine to pore;
Well pleased to see the venerable sage,
Unlock his treasur'd wealth of legal lore;
And I, that lov'd to trace the woods before,
And climb the hill a play mate of the breeze,
Have vow'd to tune the rural lay no more,
Have bid my useless classicks sleep at ease,
And left the race of bards to scribble, starve and freeze.

Farewell.—When mildly through the naked wood,
The clear warm sun effus'd a mellow ray;
And livelier health propell'd the vital flood,
Loitering at large, I pour'd the incondite lay,
Forgot the cares and business of the day,
Forgot the quirks of Lyttleton and Coke,
Forgot the publick storms, and party fray;
And, as the inspiring flame across me broke,
To thee the lowly harp, neglected long, I woke.

# MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

*Theology of the Hindoos, as taught by Ram Mohun Roy.*

The scriptures, or sacred books of the Hindoos, are called the Vedas. These books they suppose to have been written, and bequeathed to them, by their great legislator, Brama. They are in the Sanscrit language, and of very remote antiquity. The period in which they were written has not been ascertained. Interpolations, it is said, are found in various parts, which have made some suppose the books themselves to be of modern origin. It has, however, been decided by the learned, that, except these occasional interpolations, they are genuine, and very ancient.

These books contain the doctrines of the Hindoo religion. They are interpreted and taught by the Bramins. The language in which they are written is no longer spoken, and has been very little known till lately even in Asia. It was confined almost entirely to the Bramins, whose interest it was to keep the knowledge of it from the people. It was used by them solely in the offices of religion. While they alone understood the language in which their sacred books were written, they could interpret them as they chose, and exert an influence almost unlimited over the credulous and superstitious minds of the ignorant. The consequence was, they multiplied rites and ceremonies, increased the dignity of their offices by rendering them more necessary and important, and finally involved the worship of the followers of Brama in the grossest idolatries. Although the Vedas taught the existence, the unity, and overruling providence of a Supreme Being, and the propriety, if not the necessity of worshipping him as a being invisible and of pure intelligence; yet the Bramins carefully concealed this from the people, and insisted on the barbarous sacrifices and idol worship, which had been introduced and perpetuated by their order. Hence millions of people have been for many ages

systematically, and the greatest portion of them conscientiously devoted to a kind of worship most debasing in its effects, and which has a tendency to keep alive many of the worst passions, and encourage the worst vices.

A considerable excitement has lately been produced in India by the attempts of a very wealthy and learned native, named *Ram Mohun Roy*, to restore the pure doctrines of the Vedas. He has translated several chapters of these sacred books into the Bengalee language, and circulated them among his countrymen. The parts, which he has translated, are those, which treat of a Supreme Being, his character, and the worship he claims. These had been entirely overlooked by the Bramins. He seems to have just views of the absurd and wicked practices of his countrymen in their religious ceremonies, and a strong desire to wipe out so gross a stain in the human character. Already he is said to have many followers. Numbers, who knew nothing of the Vedas, except from the interpretations of their priests, are made acquainted with its true and most important doctrines. They have formed themselves into societies for the purpose of mutual improvement. Their influence is spreading, and strong hopes may justly be entertained of great and beneficial results.

We have before us three pamphlets published during the last eighteen months in Calcutta by *Ram Mohun Roy*. The two first are translations from the Vedas, with prefatory and introductory remarks. They were originally printed in Bengalee, but afterwards translated into English by the author. We purpose to give such extracts from these pamphlets as may serve to make our readers somewhat acquainted with the present religious notions of the Hindoos, the pure doctrines of their sacred books, and the views and motives of the learned native, whom we have mentioned.

'Although born a Bramin,' he observes, 'and instructed in my youth in all the principles of that sect, being thoroughly convinced of the lamentable errours of my countrymen, I have been stimulated to employ every means in my power to improve their minds, and lead them to the knowledge of a purer system of morality. Living constantly among Hindoos of different sects and professions, I have had ample opportunities of observing the superstitious puerilities into which they have been thrown by their self-interested guides, who, in defence of the law, as well as of common sense, have succeeded but too well in conducting them to the temple of Idolatry;—and while they hid from their view the true substance

of morality, have infused into their simple hearts a weak attachment for its mere shadow. The chief part of the theory and practice of Hindooism, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet, the least oberration from which, even though the conduct of the offender, may in other respects be pure and blameless, is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion from his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of *cast*.

'On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of Hindoo faith is considered in so high a light, as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation. Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of *cast*, is visited in their society by no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace. A trifling present to the Bramin, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, is held as a sufficient atonement for all these crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution.

'My reflections on these solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have never ceased to contemplate with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling. And this in various instances;—but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race, who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things;—whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been impelled to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of morality—accompanied with such notices as I deemed requisite to oppose the arguments employed by the Bramins in defence of their beloved system. Most earnestly do I pray, that the whole may sooner or later prove efficient in producing in the minds of Hindoos in general a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only—together with a complete perception and practice of the grand and comprehensive moral principle—do unto others as ye would be done by.' Translation of the Ishopanishad, Introduction, pp. 2—5.

The author's great object seems to be, to do away the worship of idols, and introduce in its stead that of one Supreme Being. He begins, therefore, by making numerous quotations from the sacred books, showing, that the writers not only taught the existence and attributes of such a Being, but the proper mode of worshipping him. 'God is without figure, epithet, definition or description—he, who is the eternal Being, is God.' 'The vulgar look for their gods in water; men of more extended knowledge, in celestial bodies; the ignorant, in wood, bricks, and stones; but learned men, in the universal soul.' 'The Supreme Spirit is one and unchangeable. He overspreads all creatures; is merely spirit, without the form either of any minute body, or of an extended one, which is liable to impression or organization. He is pure, perfect, omniscient, the ruler of the intellect, omnipresent, and self existent. He has from eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes.' Many other passages similar to these might be selected, but these are sufficient to show that the notions of the Supreme Being, as expressed in the Vedas, are just, and calculated to lead the mind to true conceptions of his character and perfections.

But notwithstanding the repeated mention in these books of one overruling Power, invisible and incomprehensible, *Ram Mohun Roy* acknowledges, 'they indeed declare the divinity of many gods and goddesses, and the modes of their worship.' But still he says there is no contradiction. The authors of the books themselves affirm repeatedly, 'that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those, who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations, and that those, who are competent for the worship of the invisible God, should disregard the worship of idols.' He urges this point a good deal. In another place, after stating the doctrines of the Vedas relative to the unity of the Supreme Being, and also of a plurality of gods and goddesses, he goes on to say, 'that the worship of the sun and fire, together with the whole allegorical system, was only inculcated for the sake of those, whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the invisible Supreme Being.' This is the only mode of interpretation, he thinks, by which the different parts of the Véds can be reconciled; and if they will not admit of this ex-

planation, he fears 'the whole work will not only be stripped of its authority, but looked upon as altogether unintelligible.' Translation of the Cena Upanished, p. 5.

'Many learned Bramins,' he adds, 'are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of divine worship;—but as in the rites, ceremonies, and festivals of idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their scriptures concealed from the rest of the people. Their followers, too, confiding in these leaders, feel gratification in the idea of the divine nature residing in a being resembling themselves in birth, shape, and propensities; and are naturally delighted with a mode of worship agreeable to the senses, though destructive of moral principles, and the fruitful parent of prejudice and superstition.' p. 9.

The author complains loudly of the bad effects, that have resulted from the interpretations, which Europeans have sometimes given of the idolatry of the Hindoos; and which, although plausible, have no foundation. They have supposed that the idols used by the natives in their worship are not considered by them as actual gods, or as real personifications of the divine attributes, 'but merely as instruments and means for raising their minds to the contemplation of those attributes, which are respectively represented by different figures.' This opinion *Ram Mohun Roy* declares to be entirely erroneous, and he regrets, that it should ever have been suggested, as the natives have since made great use of it in defending their absurd practices. It had never occurred to them, and it affords a stronger argument in their favour, than any they have been able to advance. On this subject he makes the following remarks. In addition to the argument in question, they give a very animated picture of the present state of religious belief and worship among the natives of Hindustan.

'Hindoos of the present age, with a very few exceptions, have not the least idea, that it is to the attributes of the Supreme Being as figuratively represented by shapes, corresponding to the nature of those attributes, they offer adoration and worship under the denomination of gods and goddesses. On the contrary the slightest investigation will clearly satisfy every inquirer, that it makes a material part of their system to hold as articles of faith all those particular circumstances, which are essential to a belief in the in-

dependent existence of the objects of their idolatry, as deities clothed with divine power.

'Locality of habitation and a mode of existence analagous to their own views of earthly things, are uniformly ascribed to each particular god. Thus the devotees of Siva, misconceiving the real spirit of the scriptures, not only place an implicit credence in the separate existence of Siva, but even regard him as an omnipotent being, the greatest of all the divinities, who, as they say, inhabit the northern mountain of Cailas; and that he is accompanied by two wives and several children, and surrounded by numerous attendants. In like manner the followers of Vishnu, mistaking the allegorical representations of the Sastras for relations of real facts, believe him to be chief over all other gods, and that he resides with his wife and attendants on the summit of heaven. Similar opinions are also held by the worshippers of Cali, in respect to that goddess. And in fact, the same observations are equally applicable to every class of Hindoo devotees in regard to their respective gods and goddesses. And so tenacious are those devotees in respect to the honour due to their chosen divinities, that when they meet in holy places, the adjustment of the point of precedence not only occasions the warmest verbal altercations, but sometimes even blows and violence. Neither do they regard the images of those gods merely in the light of instruments for elevating the mind to the conception of those supposed beings; they are simply in themselves made objects of worship. For whatever Hindoo purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made under his own superintendance, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, which give it, as he thinks, the endowment of animation,—by which he believes its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it was formed,—and that it acquires not only life, but supernatural powers. Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one, with no less promp and magnificence, than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete, and the god and goddesses are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration.

'At the same time the worshippers of images ascribe to them at once the opposite natures of human and superhuman beings. In attention to their supposed wants as living beings, he is seen feeding or pretending to feed them every morning and evening; and as in the hot season he is careful to fan them, so in the cold he is equally regardful of their comfort, covering them by day with warm clothing, and placing them at night in a bed. But superstition does not find a limit here. The acts and speeches of the idols, and their assumption of various shapes and colours, are gravely relat-

ed by the Bramins, and with all the marks of veneration, are firmly believed by their deluded followers. Other practices they have with regard to those idols, which decency forbids me to explain. In thus endeavouring to remove a mistake, into which I have reason to believe many European gentlemen have been led by a benevolent wish, to find an excuse for the errours of my countrymen, it is a considerable gratification to me to find that the latter have begun to be so far sensible of the absurdity of their real belief and practices, as to find it convenient to shelter them under such a cloak, however flimsy and barrowed. The adoption of such a subterfuge encourages me to hope, that they will in time abandon what they are sensible cannot be defended; and that, forsaking the superstition of idolatry, they will embrace the rational worship of the God of nature, as enjoined in the Véds, and confirmed by the dictates of common sense.' pp. 11—16.

The following arguments he tells us are the principal ones alleged by the natives in support of idolatry; namely, 'those who believe God to be omnipresent, as declared by the doctrines of the Védánt, are required by the tenets of such belief, to look upon all existing creatures as God, and to show divine respect to birds, beasts, men, women, vegetables, and all other existences,—and as practical conformity to such doctrines is almost impossible, the worship of figured gods should be admitted.' Another argument is, 'no man can have, as it is said, by the Sastra, a desire of knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, unless his mind be purified; and as idol worship purifies men's minds, it should therefore be attended to.' And lastly, 'idol worship has been practised so many centuries, that custom renders it necessary to continue it.' These arguments the author confutes at large, and, as it may be supposed, without much difficulty. He brings forward constantly in support of his positions the authority of the sacred books themselves.

We have thus far considered the prefaces and introductory remarks only of two pamphlets, which, however, comprise much the greater part of each. What remains are translations from such parts of the Védas, as treat of the existence, unity, and attributes of the Supreme Being. These pamphlets are entitled, Translation of the Ishopanishad, one of the chapters of the Yajur Véda—and Translation of the Cena Upanished, one of the Chapters of the Sáma Véda.

The third pamphlet, which remains to be noticed, is entitled, A Defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to the Attack of

an Advocate for Idolatry at Madrass, by *Ram Mohun Roy*, printed at Calcutta in 1817. The works, which we have above mentioned, with some others by the same author, called forth an answer, it seems, from some person in Madrass, whether a native or European it is uncertain, though there are some reasons to think the latter. What motive a christian could have, however, for writing in defence of idolatry cannot be so easily determined. But whoever may have written it, Ram Mohun Roy has returned a very spirited and a very satisfactory answer. In this he exposes anew the pitiable delusions of his countrymen, the indecency and wickedness of their religious ceremonies, and the wretched effects, which they produce on their morals and happiness.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, because it is novel, at least in this country, and because it is likely hereafter to attract much attention. Ram Mohun Roy is not a christian, it is true, but the doctrine he inculcates differs very little from the christian doctrine respecting the nature and attributes of the Deity. It is the same in its spirit and objects. If he can introduce it among his countrymen, it will be a great step taken towards advancing the cause of christianity in the East. It will be taking down one of the strongest barriers, which the christian missionaries have to surmount. New facilities will be offered for prosecuting their benovolent and indefatigable labours; and by the use of these means, and the aid of Divine Providence, we have more reason, than we ever have had, to hope for a permanent and happy change in the moral condition of a large and populous section of the globe.

## *Boundaries of the United States.*

The decision of the commissioners under the treaty of 1794 did not terminate the disputes between Great Britain and the United States on their Eastern frontier. The duty assigned to those commissioners, and which, when finished, terminated their authority, was to ascertain the true river St. Croix, intended by the treaty of 1783, and to determine its source and its mouth. The mouth of the river was found to be at Joe's point, and of course any territory below that place, in dispute between the parties, could not then be assigned to the one or the other.

Accordingly Judge Benson, one of those commissioners, in his manuscript report already quoted, has the following remarks;—'There is still a question concerning the boundary between the two nations in that quarter, and originating also in the treaty of peace; but partaking of the nature of an omitted case, it can be settled only by negotiation and compact.'

'The treaty supposes the St. Croix to empty immediately into the bay of Fundy, and of course, that there would be an entire seaboard boundary, if it may be so expressed, between the termination of the Southern and the commencement of the Eastern boundary of the United States; and it also intended that where the Eastern boundary passed through waters which were navigable, both nations should equally participate in the navigation. The question then is, how is this boundary in the intermediate space between where the mouth of the St. Croix has been decided to be, and the bay of Fundy to be established most consistent with the treaty?' And the judge then suggests the propriety of a line running from Joe's point, by what is commonly called the Eastern or Ship channel, between Deer and Campo Bello islands. This he thinks would be a proper line, but that the authority of his commission did not enable him to establish it.

The islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, and Grand Menan in the bay of Fundy, are all below the termination or mouth of the river, and lie in waters, through which the commissioners above named presumed no demarcation of boundary had been made by the treaty.

In a communication to congress, immediately after the decision of those commissioners, the president of the United States alludes to the remaining questions yet open between the two nations, and adverts to the several 'very valuable islands in those bays,' the jurisdiction to which remained yet to be determined.

While the American government thus considered the islands as not definitely assigned to either of the two nations, the British government claimed the whole as belonging to their province of Nova Scotia, and of course, as being excepted by the terms of the treaty of peace from the general clause of confirmation, by which all other islands within twenty leagues of the coast were annexed to the United States.

The Duke of Portland, in a letter to the British minister in the United States, expressed very fully this idea; and the king's advocate in New Brunswick distinctly maintained the

same thing in the trial of a cause before the judicial tribunals of that province, in which the question was necessarily discussed.*

It is exceedingly plain, that if the islands did not lie in a river, the question of jurisdiction could not be fairly settled by a reference to those principles, which apply to islands in a river of boundary. It is also manifest, that, as they are all within twenty leagues of the coast of the United States, that all of them must belong to the American government, unless the exception in the treaty of peace, reserving to Great Britain all the islands then or before belonging to Nova Scotia, applied to these islands or some of them.

At the time of the decision of the commissioners under the treaty of 1794, the United States were in quiet and peaceable possession of Moose, Dudley and Frederick islands; and Great Britain had the same authority in all the others. The town of Eastport had been incorporated by the government of Massachusetts, and was then a flourishing village on Moose island, holding the two smaller islands as its appendages, while a British settlement had for a long period been established on the other islands of the bay of Passamaquoddy.

It is exceedingly probable that this divided possession arose from the presumption that the river had its real mouth at West Quoddy head, and that the islands were in a river, and not in a bay. Of course that they belonged to the two nations respectively, as they were on the one or the other side of the dividing stream.

This was the view originally taken by the first American settlers, and countenanced by the authority of the state government; and the agent of the United States before the commission so often referred to, explicitly states that he considered the mouth of both rivers, that is, the St. Croix and the Bagaguadavie, to be below the islands, or at least, whatever might be the geographical fact, that West Quoddy head was the place intended in the treaty of peace, as the mouth of the St. Croix.

The provisional government of New Brunswick did not appear to consent to this position; but legislated for all the islands in the bay, as being part of their county of Charlotte, and as forming the parish of West Isles. The possession, however, of Moose island by the Americans, although at first

* Case of Leonard, libellant, vs. Sloop Falmouth, in the Vice Admiralty Court of New Brunswick,—pamphlet.

resisted by the subaltern officers of the province of New Brunswick, was not made the subject of any formal remonstrance, and the United States were in the quiet possession of it until the island was captured by a military force in the late war. The town of Eastport was not only incorporated as one of the towns of Massachusetts, but was regularly taxed for the support of that government, and sent its representatives to the general court, until the military force of Great Britain captured and took possession of it, as before mentioned, which possession they still retain.

This disputed title and arrangement of boundary did not fail to attract the attention of the two governments, 'as a question of negotiation and compact.' In 1803, in the convention between the United States and Great Britain, negotiated by Lord Hawksbury and Mr. King, Moose, Dudley and Frederick islands are adjudged to belong to the United States—and all the others in the bay of Passamaquoddy belong to Great Britain—nothing is said of Grand Menan. This convention was rejected by President Jefferson, but probably not because of any dissatisfaction relative to the Eastern boundary. In the treaty, negotiated by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, ministers of the American government in 1806, the same provision is made ; but as that treaty was not ratified, the arrangement became ineffectual. Nothing is said in this last treaty relative to Grand Menan. The American ministers were specially ordered to insist upon it as clearly within the American lines, and were told that if it had before been known, that it had been in the possession of Great Britain, an early requisition would have been made for it. Difficulties however were presented in the prosecution of this demand for Grand Menan, which induced the American ministers to forbear to insist upon any article in regard to it. Their own letter contains an explanation of the rights of their country as understood by them, and of the difficulties presented in the obtaining of those rights to the territory in question. It is to be found in the American State Papers.

In this situation the country remained until Eastport was captured in the late war, and on that occasion, it was distinctly admitted by the British commanding officer, in a letter to the American general of militia on the lines, that the possession was taken as of British territory, and not as a military occupation of any part of the acknowledged limits of the United States.

The treaty of Ghent, which restored peace to Great Britain and the United States, provided an international tribunal for the perfect settlement of this disputed title, and for the actual delineation of the other treaty boundaries of the country.

Three independent boards of commissioners were established by that treaty. To the first was assigned the duty of ascertaining to whom the several islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, and Grand Menan in the bay of Fundy belonged, by virtue of the treaty of 1783. This board consisted of two commissioners, one appointed by each of the contracting parties. No umpire, as in the former case, was to be called to their assistance. If the commissioners so appointed agreed in opinion, their decission was to be binding and conclusive on both nations. If they disagreed in part or in whole, separate reports were to be made to the two governments, and 'some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose,' was to determine the controversy.

In pursuance of the provisions of the treaty in this respect, his Britannick Majesty appointed his former commissioner, the Honourable Thomas Barclay, to be a commissioner under this article, and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed the Honourable John Holmes, of Alfred in the District of Maine, and then a member of the Senate of Massachusetts.

The claims of the British government were confided to the management of the Honourable Ward Chipman, judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, and those of the United States, to James Trecotheck Austin, Esq. a counsellor at the bar of Massachusetts.

The commission was opened at St. Andrews on the 24th of September 1816, immediately after Colonel Barclay's appointment was communicated to the American government. Each of the agents claimed, for their respective governments, all the islands in dispute.

The claim of the British nation was founded on the assertion, that at the peace of 1783 these islands were an integrant part of the province of Nova Scotia, and as such, specially excepted from the limits assigned to the United States.

The Nova Scotia intended in the treaty of 1783 was said to be that province, erected and described in certain letters patent, granted by King James I. in 1621, to Sir William Alexander, master of requests for the crown of Scotland, which

charter, it was contended, actually enclosed all the islands in question.

The American agent denied that any title could be deduced from the letters patent above mentioned, which, he contended, were void *ab origine*, and had been obsolete, derelict and neglected by all nations, but especially by the predecessours of his present Britannick Majesty—that in point of fact the letters patent did not include any of the islands—that a remarkable exception was to be found in the description of territory therein set forth, plainly proving an intention not to assign them to Alexander, and that in fact, from the date of the grand charter of Plymouth, they were a constituent part of the territories now forming the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and had been acknowledged as such by Great Britain on numerous occasions, in grants, charters, cessions, publick letters and treaties.

The extensive field thus opened for examination was diligently explored by both the agents, in a very copious analysis and discussion of every publick act, and most of the charter transactions, which had the eastern territory for their object; and occupied the attention of the commissioners until the 24th day of November 1817, on which day the board agreed in a decision on all the questions before them. This decision has terminated all the disputes heretofore existing on the subject. The opinion and judgment of the commissioners has been communicated to the respective governments of Great Britain and the United States, and has ascertained and determined that Moose, Dudley and Frederick islands do belong to the United States, and that all the other islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, and Grand Menan in the bay of Fundy, do belong to Great Britain, by virtue of the treaty of peace of 1783.

If neither party obtains all it had asked, both will probably be well satisfied with the decision. In point of interest, it is vastly more important that the question be settled, and the possessions of the two governments ascertained, than that one or the other nation should acquire an increase of territory. This arrangement places the two countries in the same state in which they were before the late war, and prevents all future uncertainty and doubt on this important frontier. It is probable that the commissioners assumed the office of negotiators rather than judges, and were more like referees dividing a matter of doubtful right, than adhering to

the strict letter of law, by which alone that right could be ascertained.

In one respect it fails of being as satisfactory as the convention or treaty by which the line was formerly settled.

By those negotiations a permanent right of navigation was secured to the citizens of the United States through the Eastern or Ship channel, between Deer island and Campo Bello. To do the same in this case was beyond the authority of the present commissioners, whose duty was limited to ascertaining the right to the islands, and did not extend to the decision of any question of water privilege; which must be governed by principles of national law applicable to the case. The Eastern passage is at times the only one and always is the best passage way for ships though the bay of Passamaquoddy and into the river St. Croix. Its free navigation, essential to the enjoyment of the use of the river, has always been claimed by the United States. Their ministers have been instructed to provide for their interests in this passage way; and it has been of as much or more importance than the possession of Grand Menan. Since the capture and occupation of Moose Island, an English sloop of war has occasionally been stationed there, and American vessels prohibited from passing.

The reason why an exclusive right was assumed by the British government was assigned to be, that this was a passage between two islands, both of which belonged to Great Britain, and therefore was exclusively hers. That it was not the only, although it was the best passage, and there being another, which was practicable, no inconvenience attending it could give the Americans a right of using this. If the water between Deer Island and Campo Bello had been in fact a river, the opposite shores of which belonged to Great Britain, there could be no doubt that her principle was correct, it being an undoubted doctrine of national law, that a river in the territories of a nation, is as much its exclusive property as the land, and it is only a *river of boundary*, where two nations possess respectively one of the banks, that gives to both a common right of navigation.

But the passage way between Campo Bello and Deer Island is not in a river, but in a bay; and it may well be doubted whether the law, applicable to the former, can with any propriety be applied to the latter. Not only is this passage way in a bay, but it is in the grand bay of Fundy, described by the early navigators, and now very commonly known to be 'more properly a part of the sea or ocean.'

It had indeed heretofore been considered, that these islands and the passage way between them were in the bay of Passamaquoddy, which being an interiour and smaller bay, distant from the ocean, and connected with the coasts of the continent, had all the jurisdictional properties of a river; and that a free navigation of it might be attended with evils similar to those, which would follow from an admission of foreign vessels, as a matter of right into the rivers of a country.

But the treaty of Ghent has contradicted this supposed geographical fact. It has in express words declared, that the bay of Passamaquoddy is part of the bay of Fundy; and no reason can be assigned for this assumption and declaration, but that it was intended to make the waters, fomerly called Passamaquoddy, as free and common, as those of any other part of the bay of Fundy.

Now the passage way between New Brunswick, and Grand Menan in the bay of Fundy has never been claimed by Great Britain as exclusively hers, because she possessed in full sovereignty the opposite coasts; neither can she claim the passage way between Deer Island and Campo Bello, lying in the same bay. So long as the treaty of Ghent is in force, all the islands and the passage ways between them, heretofore in dispute, are in 'the grand bay of Fundy, or more properly a part of the sea or ocean,' and no exclusive right of navigating those waters can be claimed by any particular nation.

On this ground we presume, notwithstanding the decision of the commissioners, assigning Campo Bello and Deer Island to Great Britian—the vessels of the United States will have a perfect right to navigate by the Eastern or Ship channel, as freely, as on any other part of the ocean.

To put the question however beyond dispute, as far as was practicable, the commissioners addressed a joint letter to the two governments of Great Britain and the United States, in which they declared that their decision was founded on the presumption of an existing right in each of the two nations freely to navigate by this channel, notwithstanding the sovereignty of Great Britain over the islands lying contiguous and on each side had been expressly allowed.

It is seriously to be hoped, that no new dispute will arise on this point, since all others in that quarter have been amicably settled, and that the liberality and accommodating spirit of the commissioners will be transferred to the ministers of

the two nations, if any further diplomatick arrangement is found either necessary or expedient.

The English forces still hold a military possession of Moose Island and its dependencies, but it is understood that arrangements are in train for their removal, and that early in the ensuing spring, the place will be restored to the jurisdiction of the United States, and be once again under the local authorities of Massachusetts.

Thus has happily terminated a second tribunal, instituted by two great and independent nations, for the settlement of important interests in dispute between them; interests far greater than many which history has recorded as the foundation of long protracted and destructive wars. An example is thus given to the world, which it is hoped may be powerful enough to supercede that rash resort to arms, which has too often wasted, in the progress of desolation, more than all the objects of the contest were worth.

The other commissioners provided in the treaty of Ghent, are not so much to settle disputes as to prevent them.

The lines of territory recited in the treaty of peace of 1783, were never actually drawn upon the land, but were described from the best maps then existing, but now known to be very inaccurate. To explore the frontiers together, and to fix muniments of boundary by common consent, had become a very necessary duty in order to prevent conflicting grants and unintentional trespasses. Accordingly this duty was divided into two parts. The commission established by the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent was to run the boundary line due north from the source of the river St. Croix to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the highlands which divide those rivers, that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantick ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the 45° of north latitude, thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraqua—to make a map of said boundary—declare it under their seals to be a true map, and to particularize the latitude and longitude of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, of the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary, as they may deem proper.

Under this article the British government appointed the same commissioner as in the former, and appointed the same

agent jointly with his son, Ward Chipman jun. Esq. a counsellor at law in New Brunswick. The American government appointed Cornelius P. Van Ness, Esq. of Vermont, commissioner, and William C. Bradley, late member of congress from the same state, as their agent. This board met at St. Andrews on the 24th of September, 1816, but the season being then too far advanced to commence the survey, they adjourned to the first of June. At this time the necessary parties were arranged, and instructions given to them, and the summer was occupied by these parties, and the result of their proceedings will be submitted to the commissioners in May next in the city of New York.

The extent of the duty assigned to this board will necessarily consume much time before the objects of their appointment can be attained. A common opinion has prevailed, relative to this line from the head of the St. Croix to the highlands, which has not hitherto given rise to any practical evil, and has generally been represented the same in the modern maps, published both in England and America. Since this subject has been before the commissioners, two maps have been published, which trace a line of boundary essentially different from what had been supposed before to be correct. We allude to Col. Bouchette's map of Canada, and Purdy's map of Cabotia, both of them elegantly executed, and apparently not without the approbation of high authority. The lines, drawn on these maps, curtail the limits of Massachusetts on the eastern frontier, and place the whole of the river St. Johns within the British dominion.

It is not understood, that any claim has been made by the English agent in correspondence with the new lines thus described. In fact, the official surveys have not been sufficiently advanced, to permit any claim of any kind. What the English possessions may eventually be will rest on the report of the surveyors; and the point assumed by the commissioners, as the dividing line on the highlands.

The eastern boundary line of the United States has always been drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix, crossing the St. Johns at about 47° north latitude, and thence running in the same direction about forty six miles, until it met the highlands supposed to be intended by the treaty.

There are many inconveniences in this course. For a considerable part of the line the river St. Johns is just on the border, but not within the limits of the United States, and its

waters will of course remain closed to her navigation, if ever a settlement in that part of the District of Maine should render the use of them desirable.

The communication also between New Brunswick and Quebeck is obstructed, and the passage of the English mail is over part of the territories of the United States.

This inconvenience was so great, that at the first negotiation at Ghent the English commissioners proposed a revision of the boundary line so as to secure to Great Britain the desired communication, and intimated that it must be done by a cession to Great Britain of that part of the District of Maine, which intervenes between New Brunswick and Quebeck, and prevents a direct communication. The inadmissibility of that proposition at the time, and under the circumstances in which it was urged, is apparent, but in the tranquillity of peace it is not unlikely that a change of boundary might be made essentially beneficial to both parties.

Thus, if the boundary line, instead of being drawn due north to the highlands, was made to meet the St. Johns at the highest point above the actual English settlements, and the river, instead of an arbitrary line, become the division between the two countries to the 47° north latitude, the United States would gain an addition of territory important in position, though not of any considerable magnitude, while the English possessions on the left bank would still have access to the water, and lose no material advantage. In exchange for this, the new boundary on the north might be drawn from some point in the river by a straight line to the province of Lower Canada, and thus a direct communication between her two provinces be opened to Great Britain, without any inconvenience to the United States.

The detail of such a plan would require accuracy and attention. The general principles only are stated above, on which such a negotiation might be pursued.

But as the territory in this vicinity is of importance to Great Britain, as the means of opening a free communication between her provinces, another object could be mentioned, for which it may possibly be considered as an equivalent in exchange.

The right of fishing within the marine league on the coast of Nova Scotia, it is maintained by Great Britain, was lost to the United States, when by the late war the treaty of 1783 was annulled.—If so, this territory, or a right of way

over it, may present the means of obtaining the renewal of the privilege; and the consent of Massachusetts would probably not be withheld for an equivalent in which her enterprising citizens have so deep an interest.

Some preparations are making, which indicate an attempt by Great Britain to obtain more than would be necessary for the above purposes under the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent, and Col. Bouchette, in his history of Canada, lately published, has stated his reasons in full for the expectations of annexing the territory in question to New Brunswick, by virtue of the treaty of 1783. But little confidence can be placed on these opinions; at least several years must elapse before the questions under that article can possibly be settled.

The remaining board of commissioners established by the treaty of Ghent, were directed to run the boundary line from the point where the 45° north latitude strikes the Irequois or Cataraqua, to lake Superiour, as it was declared by the treaty of peace of 1783, and to decide to whom the islands in the lakes and rivers, through which the line passes, do severally belong.

General Peter B. Porter was appointed commissioner, and Samuel Hawkins, Esq. agent for the United States; and John Ogilvie, Esq. commissioner on the part of Great Britain. They met at St. Regis, and established by accurate astronomical observation the point of the 45° north latitude, and afterwards, by careful admeasurement and surveys, described the boundary towards lake Ontario. It is understood that no material alteration has been made in the line heretofore considered as the true boundary. The latitude line described in the treaty of 1783, to be run from Connecticut river to the St. Lawrence, is to be protracted by the commissioners under the 4th article, who have not yet commenced that duty. This line was supposed to have been settled soon after the peace, and divides the actual settlements of the two countries. It was formerly run with great attention and care, but, as is recently said, without the aid of good instruments, and that of course it is incorrect, being a waving and not a straight line. If there be an errour, it will now be corrected. Nor ought any party, who may on the final admeasurement of it lose any part of its present possessions, to be in the least dissatisfied. The true boundary is described in the treaty of peace. The location of that boundary is a work of science, diligence and labour; and the governments of both countries will be careful that a common mistake and publick misapprehension shall not produce individual injury.

## *The Jesuits.*

It has already been said, that Paris was the cradle of the Society, because Ignatius chose his first companions in that city, where they all made their vows and took those oaths which they have so often since repeated.

They were so ambitious to be incorporated with the University of Paris, that in their petitions to Paul III. in 1540, and to Julius III. in 1550, to give themselves an air of some importance, they asserted they were all graduated in that university. This, though no more than a sample of their uniform conduct afterwards, was a bad beginning, for upon a search of the registers it was found that three of the ten had never taken any degree. This disgrace, however, could not fall upon Francis Xavier, who was absent on the course of his missions, when these petitions were presented.

From 1540, immediately after the approbation of the society by Paul III. Ignatius having distributed his companions into the different parts of the world, sent a number of scholars to Paris under the conduct of Equia, and afterwards under that of Dominicus. But the king having ordered all the subjects of Charles V. to depart from the kingdom, the greatest part of this little society, which was composed of subjects of the emperour, retired to Louvain.

Nevertheless, in 1545, there were thirteen of them in the college of the Lombards as beneficiaries or scholars, and under the conduct of Viole, but without being known. They found a powerful protector in the person of William Du Pratt, bishop of Clermont, natural son of the famous Du Pratt, chancellor, cardinal and legate, who offered to purchase the papacy with a hundred and twenty thousand livres, and who had left great riches to his son. This prelate first established the Jesuits in his city of Billon; he then lodged those who were at Paris in his house, the Hotel de Clermont, and finally left them a considerable legacy, of which we shall have occasion to speak again. Viole received orders from the general to make profession, between the hands of the bishop of Clermont, who delegated the Abbey de Sainte Genevieve to receive it.

All these things were still but experiments, of which Ignatius calculated to make a good use in future. He had his enterprize too near his heart to neglect any thing that might extend it. He had insinuated himself at Rome into the good

graces of the cardinal de Lorraine, who had promised him to protect his institution at the court of France, when he should return there. In fact, upon the instances of that cardinal, the king, Henry II. issued, in January 1550, letters patent, by which he agreed and approved the Bulls of the Pope, which the Jesuits had obtained. And 'permitted the said brothers to construct, edify, and cause to be built from such means as might be given them in charity, a house and college, in the city of Paris only, and not in other cities, there to live according to their regulations and statutes; and commanded his courts of parliament, not only to suffer but to cause the said brothers to enjoy the said privileges.'

The Jesuits presented their letters patent to parliament—parliament passed an arrest which ordained that the papers should be referred to the king's counsellors at law to give their opinions or conclusions. M. Brussart, attorney general, of whom Pasquier and du Boulay have said that he was the Cato of his age, consulted with his colleagues, M. de Marillac and Seguier, and they gave their conclusions in writing with their reasons in detail, against any juridical approbation or verification; at least, in all events, to present remonstrances to the king, that the authorization of those letters patent should not pass.

The parliament did not proceed to any decree upon these conclusions; but they were communicated, under hand, to the Jesuits themselves. These fathers, immediately threw the court into an agitation, (and what a court was that!) and obtained letters of jussion, i. e. letters of positive command to the parliament, to enregister these letters patent. These facts are stated in the discourse which M. Seguier delivered in parliament, on the 26th of January, 1552. This discourse is too important to be neglected in any thing it contains. Here it is entire.

Extract from the registers of parliament. On this day the gentlemen of the king's law counsel by the organ of M. Peter Seguier, advocate of the said king, have remonstrated to the said court of parliament, that heretofore there were letters patent of the king presented to the court, that it might authorize a congregation, which they call the congregation of Jesuits. And after the presentation of the said letters patent, the court ordered that they should be communicated to the attorney general of the king, in the customary manner. The attorney general of the king, having examined the said

letters patent with the late M. Gabriel Marillac, then advocate general of the king, they delivered their conclusions, or report in writing with their reasons, to prevent the juridical approbation and verification of them. At least, in all events to make remonstrances against the authorization of the said letters patent. These conclusions, or in other words, this report contained three or four points.

1. They found the erection of this congregation of Jesuits not only unnecessary, but superfluous; for the canonical constitutions, which had been made four or five hundred years before, had determined that there were then enough of religious orders, and reprobated those which had been then recently introduced, and those others which were then projected and desired to be introduced; and it then seemed sufficient to support those which had been anciently approved and received. Hence it appeared to them, that this congregation of the Jesuits was (Nimia) too much. Moreover these Jesuits take such sagacious precautions, that if any transgression of their regulations is committed, recourse must be had to Rome for a decision.

2. By these letters, they are permitted to hold all their possessions, without any obligation to pay tythes; so that the curates, and those to whom the tythes belong, can pretend to none. This appears an innovation.

They say by these letters, that they will go and preach the Faith of Jesus Christ in the Morea, that is, in the ancient Peloponnesus. This would be very well; but if they had devotion enough to undertake this for the honour of God and the propagation of our faith, they need not demand such privileges as they do.

For these reasons, the king's counsellors at law have been of opinon that they ought to oppose the authorization of the said letters patent, or at least to supplicate parliament to make remonstrances to the king against such authorization.

And although their conclusions were in writing, nevertheless the court of parliament would not have given the Jesuits any right to them or power over them by which they might come to their knowledge; much less would have delivered those letters patent and the conclusions upon them altogether to those who pursued the authorization of them, so that they might be laid before the king and procure letters in form of iteration, rejecting the said attorney general and his conclusions implying, that the king had understood the re-

monstrances, which were intended to be made to him, but notwithstanding those intended remonstrances, he willed and intended that his first letters patent should be juridically approved, and commanded the said attorney general that he should not only consent to the verification of the said letters, but that he should require it.

For these reasons they besaught the parliament, first, that the conclusions which they might in future present in writing or by words pronounced in person, should be held secret in such a manner that they may not come to the knowledge of those, who pursue the verification of any letters patent. As to themselves, if they have reported conclusions which the court have thought not good and see fit to reject, they will receive that as patiently as if the court had judicially approved them. But it appeared strange to them, that their conclusions should be carried to the king in his council, and that fresh letters should be despatched, that notwithstanding those conclusions, parliament should proceed to ratify the first letters.

But finally they persist according to their said conclusions in their request, that remonstrances may be made to the king. Done in parliament the 26th of January, 1552.

If any reader's curiosity should incline him to amuse himself with this society, he may find a summary of its history and character, not less candid than elegant, in Dr. Robertson's classical history of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 192. vol. iii. pp. 204—23 ; and in Pascal's Provincial Letters ; in the French Encyclopedia, article Jesuit ; in the American Encyclopedia, article Jesuit ; in the notes and dissertations of the Marquis D'Argens in his Translations of Ocellus, Lucanus and Timeus of Locris ; and above all, in the *Histoire Generale de la naissance et des progres de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed in Amsterdam in 1761, in four volumes 12mo, of three or four hundred pages each.

In the mean time, I may pursue my inquisitions, at my leisure, in my own time, and in my own way.

INQUISITOR.

## INTELLIGENCE AND REMARKS.

*Development of the Herculaneum Rolls.*—The following account, from a foreign journal, contains some interesting information on this curious and important subject.

'The lovers of literature are, it appears, in a fair way of realising the long hidden contents of those precious relicks of antiquity, the Six Papiri, given by his Majesty the king of Naples to Buonaparte, but now in the possession of the French Academy; and likewise those Herculaneum Rolls in England, under the especial care of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. From the letter of Dr. Sickler, at Hildburghausen, Jan. 3, 1817, he seems to express considerable gratification in being thought capable of undertaking and executing a work, which, up to the present moment, has almost uselessly occupied so many of our most enlightened scholars and experienced artists; and which has involved them in various perplexities, without any beneficial result.—The doctor observes, that if the Rolls at Paris and in London have writing only on one side, as they are commonly found—if they are not lacerated, or torn in pieces by any mechanical violence—if they have not been injured by the application of drugs or chymical matter—if their writing has not been destroyed either by the action of fire, or by the effect of damp—finally, if the obstacles which have hitherto presented themselves to their complete development are only those which have occurred at Naples up to this time, he will undertake to guarantee the success of his method. He engages, that in unrolling the the Herculaneum manuscripts, they shall scarcely lose a particle of their fragile composition—that the pages adhering to each other shall be separated without suffering the smallest damage—that the writing, which has not been effaced by the action of fire, shall be produced perfectly legible; and that the expedition and rapidity with which the development shall take place, shall astonish those who are acquainted with the method hitherto practised at Naples, and who are able to appreciate the difficulties and the merit of the operation. The doctor thinks it perfectly practical that a roll of 80 or 100 columns, each column containing 24 or 30 lines, and each line 10 or 12 words, may be unrolled in the space of five or six weeks. As far as regards the material obstacles that have occurred up to the present moment, from observations made at Naples, and upon

the method made use of there, as well as upon paper tightly rolled, gummed together and carbonised, as also from experiments made upon fragments of actual Herculaneum Rolls, he undertakes to surmount them all: but the expedition with which the process is pursued must depend entirely upon the work being followed up without interruption.

'Upon Dr. Sickler's invention of an improved method of unrolling the Herculaneum manuscripts, undergoing the most minute investigation before a sitting of the Royal Society of arts at Göttingen, Nov. 9, 1814, before Mr. Osiander, the President, and Messrs. Blumenbach, Hausman, and Herren, especially appointed for that purpose, the latter gentleman made the following report; 'it is necessary to premise that Dr. Sickler was six years in Italy; during this interval, three times at Naples; and from his acquaintance and friends in that town, he had more than the ordinary means of becoming perfectly acquainted with the process at that time in use, to be sensible of its faults, and, at the same time, to convince himself of the superiority of his own invention. The number of manuscripts which have been recovered from Herculaneum, and which remain at present unrolled, or only in part, amount to 1400. These rolls are, for the most part, of equal length, though not of equal thickness, and, consequently, their contents are more or less voluminous. Very hasty conjectures have been formed upon their contents, but which have been refuted by the fact. It can be no longer matter of doubt, that they contain writings upon different subjects, as well in Greek as in Latin, in verse a swell as prose; as a treatise has already been found upon music; a work of Epicurus, upon nature; a Latin poem; a fragment of works upon Geopraphy and upon Natural History; and though, at this moment, we cannot judge with any precision of the further contents of these rolls, there is the strongest room for thinking they are a treasure, in which is hidden what would prove of the greatest importance to classical learning; and that the hope of finding the comedies of Menander, or the last books of Polybius, cannot be called chimerical. The discovery of these manuscripts naturally excited expectations of this kind; but the task of unrolling them appeared an undertaking of no ordinary difficulty.

'When Herculaneum was covered (79. J. C.) by the eruption of Vesuvius, the room in which these manuscripts lay, though it remained untouched, was completely covered with a thick layer of ashes, over which had flowed a stream of lava. The papiri, subjected to this kind of heat, were not burnt, though they were carbonized. On the first discovery of them they were taken for any thing but writings, and narrowly escaped being flung away as mere coals. As soon, however, as they were known to be writings, they attracted no small attention, particularly after the observa-

tions which the immortal Winkelman made upon them. Antonio Piaggi, a Genoese monk, suggested, at that time, a mode and a machine for unrolling them;—with this machine the operation of unfolding them commenced; but it is well known that the expectations which were formed of it have by no means answered; the process has been described by Winkelman and others. It consists in applying small pieces of goldbeaters' skin, when lightly gummed, upon the back surface of the roll, to which silken threads are fastened, and which, by the help of machinery, gently raise the surface so lined. This machine consumes, in the first place, so much time, that a whole month was sometimes necessary to unroll a single leaf;—besides this inconvenience, it was scarcely possible to avoid making rents and holes, thereby rendering it necessary to supply the text by conjecture.'

'Mr Herren's Report of the committee upon Dr. Sickler's invention is as follows;—'The mode of unrolling the carbonized manuscripts of Herculaneum, as proposed by Dr. Sickler, differs materially from that which has hitherto been used, and appears to us to unite the necessary requisites to put them in form to be read with less difficulty, and considerably to hasten the operation in point of time. The adhesive mixture used by Dr. Sickler is of that quality, as to agree full as well with the interiour of the roll, as the other preparations which is applied to line it. It dries slowly, which affords the advantage of not being compelled to adopt any extraordinary precipitancy; and if, by accident, any bit of an under page should stick to that already lined, it may be easily separated. The substance upon which the manuscripts are to be rolled is of so supple and pliable a nature, that it can be equally applied to the rolls indented and crooked, at the same time affording them a sufficient consistency for the operation of unrolment. The machine proposed is very simple as to its mechanism, and has the important advantage of permitting the work to proceed with the most perfect order, and without any danger of injuring the carbonized substance. Under all these circumstances, the committee is of opinion, that the method proposed by Dr. Sickler is likely to obtain the object he has in view; and the Royal Society, considering the very high importance this discovery may prove to the learned world, cannot but heartily express their wishes that such an opportunity may be afforded to him.'

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*Astronomical Journal*—A new scientifick journal has lately been established in Germany, which is devoted exclusively to astronomy, and those departments of science immediately connected with it. A number of about one hundred and eighty pages is published every two months. We have before us all the numbers

for the year 1816. From these it appears, that the work receives the support of all the most celebrated astronomers and mathematicians in Germany; and the publishers express a wish to make it the focus of intelligence on these subjects for all Europe. The names of twenty four gentlemen are mentioned, as having engaged to contribute. It is published at Tübengen, and edited by Lindenau and Bohnenberger. The first number is commenced by an article on the state of astronomical science at that time, and its progress during a few years preceding. It gives us great pleasure to find mention made repeatedly in this work of our celebrated countryman, Dr. Bowditch. His articles in the last volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy, relative to the comet of 1811, and the meteor seen in Connecticut in 1807, were well known, it seems, among the scientifick men in Germany. In the work we have mentioned, extracts are liberally made from these articles. They are quoted with high praise, and as good authorities.

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*Introduction to the Elements of Algebra.*—It was mentioned in our last number, that a work bearing this title, selected from the Algebra of Euler, was in the University Press. It has since been published. This work, we would remind our readers, contains the mathematicks required for admission into the University at Cambridge, and will be used in the examination of candidates for admission. The remarks of Professor Farrar, prefixed to the volume, are so perspicuous, so appropriate, and describe the work, as well as the character of Euler, in terms so discriminating and just, that we cannot forbear quoting them at large.

'None but those who are just entering upon the study of Mathematics need to be informed of the high character of Euler's Algebra. It has been allowed to hold the very first place among elementary works upon this subject. The author was a man of genius. He did not, like most writers, compile from others. He wrote from his own reflections. He simplified and improved what was known, and added much that was new. He is particularly distinguished for the clearness and comprehensiveness of his views. He seems to have the subject of which he treats present to his mind, in all its relations and bearings, before he begins to write. The parts of it are arranged in the most admirable order. Each step is introduced by the preceding, and leads to that which follows, and the whole taken together constitutes an entire and connected piece, like a highly wrought story.

'This author is remarkable also for his illustrations. He teaches by instances. He presents one example after another, each evident by itself, and each throwing some new light upon the subject, till the reader begins to anticipate for himself the truth to be inculcated.

'Some opinion may be formed of the adaptation of this treatise to learners, from the circumstances under which it was composed. It was undertaken after the author became blind, and was dictated to a young man entirely without education, who by this means became an expert algebraist, and was able to render the author important services as an amanuensis. It was written originally in German. It has since been translated into Russian, French, and English, with notes and additions.

'The entire work consists of two volumes octavo, and contains many things intended for the professed mathematician, rather than the general student. It was thought that a selection of such parts, as would form an easy introduction to the science, would be well received, and tend to promote a taste for analysis among the higher class of students, and to raise the character of mathematical learning.

'Notwithstanding the high estimation in which this work has been held, it is scarcely to be met with in the country, and is very little known in England. On the continent of Europe this author is the constant theme of eulogy. His writings have the character of classics. They are regarded at the same time as the most profound and the most perspicuous, and as affording the finest models of analysis. They furnish the germs of the most approved elementary works on the different branches of this science. The constant reply of one of the first mathematicians* of France to those who consulted him upon the best method of studying mathematics was, '*study Euler.*' 'It is needless,' said he, 'to accumulate books; true lovers of mathematics will always read Euler; because in his writings every thing is clear, distinct and correct; because they swarm with excellent examples; and because it is always necessary to have recourse to the fountain head.'

'The selections here offered are from the first English edition. A few errors have been corrected and a few alterations made in the phraseology. In the original no questions were left to be performed by the learner. A collection was made by the English translator and subjoined at the end with references to the sections to which they relate. These have been mostly retained, and some new ones have been added.

'Although this work is intended particularly for the algebraical student, it will be found to contain a clear and full explanation of the fundamental principles of arithmetic;—vulgar fractions, the doctrine of roots and powers, of the different kinds of proportion and progression, are treated in a manner, that can hardly fail to interest the learner, and make him acquainted with the reason of those rules which he has so frequent occasion to apply.

* Lagrange.

'A more extended work on Algebra, formed after the same model, is now in the press, and will soon be published. This will be followed by other treatises upon the different branches of pure mathematics.'

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*Topographical Description of Boston.*—Charles Shaw Esq. member of the American Antiquarian Society, has published a topographical and historical description of Boston. In this little work are brought together, with a good deal of industry, the scattered materials of the early history of the metropolis of New England. If it does not furnish all the facts that can at the present day be ascertained, respecting the origin and progress of the town, it is more complete than readers, not conversant with the history of the country, would expect it to be, and perhaps as full, as most readers would desire. Although the peninsula on which the town is situated was a favourite spot with the Indians, while they were the lords of the soil, and is supposed to have been thickly inhabited, so that nearly all the wood was cut from it, and the land appropriated to cornfields, yet it did not attract the attention of our ancestors until after several other spots in the vicinity had been selected for settlements. Salem, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Dorchester were settled before Boston. The first Englishman, who slept on the spot where Boston now stands, is supposed to have been William Blaxton. He claimed the whole peninsula as his property. The principal emigration to Massachusetts took place in 1630. Salem only was settled two years before; Dorchester was settled in May of this year, and the most considerable of the emigrants, after having touched at Salem, arrived at Charlestown in July. Blaxton invited Governour Winthrop to Boston, where he had built a small cottage, in which he resided, but the governour then preferred settling at Cambridge; Mr. Johnson, however, and several others, who came with Gov. Winthrop, accepted Blaxton's invitation, and the settlement of the town immediately commenced. The governour followed them the year after, and from this time the town seems to have been a favourite and flourishing settlement. Johnson took for his lot the square which lies between Court street and School street, and on which now stand the old and new court houses, the gaol, the stone chapel, besides a great number of private buildings. At his request he was buried at the upper end of his lot, and thus was commenced the Chapel burying ground. Four years afterwards an agreement was made with Blaxton for the purchase of all his right; namely, all the lands within the neck, (except six acres reserved to him,) for the sum of thirty pounds,—and for the payment of this, an assessment of six shillings was laid on each householder, and on

the richer part, a larger sum. Besides the right of Blaxton, the inhabitants of the town purchased the land of Chicatabut, the reigning sachem, for a valuable consideration; and fifty five years afterwards, they purchased of Josias Wampatuck, the grandson of Chicatabut, his quitclaim of the same territory.

The first meetings of the General Court, after the arrival of the governour, deputy governour, and assistants from England, were held at Charlestown. But October 19, 1630, the first General Court of the colony was held at Boston.

The peninsula was called by the Indians *Shaumut;* but by the first settlers at Charlestown, it was called Tremount, from the three peaks of Beacon Hill, visible from that town. It received its present name from the affection of some of the first planters for their native place, Boston in England, and this name was confirmed by the General Court, in the first year of its settlement.

In this work will be found, extracted from the historians of the day, some description of the town, and of the native inhabitants. The most important incidents in the history of the town are aslo related, as they are found recorded in a great variety of our early authors, and in the town records. From this last source, the author has obtained many important facts, and a variety of amusing details, relating to our municipal history.

The part of the town first settled was the borders of the cove, called the Town Dock, which extended through the spot where the market now stands The settlements afterwards extended to the north end, which was for many years much the most populous and elegant quarter of the town. That part of the town lies nearest to the ship channel, and is on that account the most convenient for business. Its decline is probably owing to its being crowded with buildings, and those not suited to the increasing wealth, and improving taste of the inhabitants.

The first houses were meanly built, with thatched roofs, and chimnies constructed of wood covered with clay and mortar; but in the course of a few years, the style of building seems to have greatly improved. John Josselyn, who visited Boston in 1663, says the buildings were handsome, 'joining one to another as in London, with many large streets, most of them paved with pebble.' He says there were some buildings of stone; that there was one stately edifice that cost nearly 3000 pounds, and that there were three fair meeting houses.

Moll, the celebrated geographer, in 1717, says there were abundance of fine buildings, both publick and private, that it was a very flourishing city, and for the beauty of its structure and its great trade, it gave place to few in England. The population of the town was then estimated at 12,000.

Boston was soon found to be advantageously situated for trade,

and it consequently increased more rapidly than any of the neighbouring places in population and wealth. In October 1632, about two years after the first settlement of the town, the number of church members was a hundred and fifty two. In 1673, the number of families was estimated at fifteen hundred. Computing from the average number of deaths about the year 1700, it is probable that the number of inhabitants was then about nine thousand. Computing from the same data, there seems to have been a regular increase until 1742, when we find the number stated at eighteen thousand. From that period to the year 1791, there appears to have been no increase of population. During a part of the intermediate time, it did not exceed fifteen thousand. By the census of 1800 it was found to be twenty four thousand nine hundred and thirty seven; and in 1810, thirty three thousand two hundred and fifty. In 1818, it undoubtedly exceeds forty thousand.

This work gives a full description and history of all the publick buildings in Boston, as well as of its literary, benevolent, and other institutions. It contains also a good many anecdotes and amusing extracts from ancient authors. It is not so full in some parts as could have been wished, or as it might easily have been made by the author It is also deficient in method and arrangement, and contains some trifling descriptions which might, without injury, have been omitted. Still it contains a fund of entertainment, and useful information, and is on the whole much better executed, than any work of the kind that we have ever met with.

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*Geology of the Northern States.*—A treatise has lately been published, entitled, An Index to the Geology of the Northern States, with a transverse section from Catskill mountain to the Atlantick, by Amos Eaton, A. M. Lecturer on Natural History and Chemistry, member of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York. This is a pamphlet of fifty or sixty pages, and contains the results of a series of practical and laborious researches of the author. He tells us, that he had travelled more than a thousand miles on foot in collecting the facts, which he records. These facts are illustrative of the geological structure of the country between the Catskill mountain and Boston; especially of the Western counties of Massachusetts. We are disposed to appreciate the more highly labours like these, because they are rare, and because they afford the only means of coming at accurate geological results. We have had speculative geologists enough It is time to reason from facts—to build systems on foundations, which are not entirely of sand, or else build none at all. The speculations at the close of this pamphlet, respecting the original formation of the earth, we do not think its wisest or most valuable part.

*Botanick Garden in Cambridge.*—Professor Peck has lately published a Catalogue of American and foreign Plants, cultivated in the Botanick Garden, Cambridge, Massachusetts. This catalogue is arranged with scientifick accuracy, and apparently with great care and skill. Any one can ascertain at a single glance the number, which each plant bears in the garden, its Latin name, its English name, its native place of growth, its time of flowering, and its duration. The friends of the establishment must be gratified with the evidence, which this book affords, of the prosperous condition of the garden, and the usefulness it promises. 'The Botanick Garden at Cambridge,' says Professor Peck, 'was intended for the cultivation of plants from various parts of the world, to facilitate the acquisition of botanical knowledge. It was also intended to receive all such indigenous trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants, as are worthy of attention, as being useful in domestick economy, in the arts, or in medicine. The present collection began with exotick plants, contributed by friends of the institution, who possessed green houses in the vicinity, who, as they have acquired new plants, have generously continued to impart them. Gentlemen who have visited tropical regions in the East and West Indies, and in Africa, have also presented plants and seeds; and seeds have been received from some of the Botanick Gardens in Europe. From all these sources, the collection is enriched with many very curious plants, which would be much valued any where. In all establishments of this kind, it is usual to employ some person solely in collecting plants; but the funds of this institution have not been sufficient to meet such an expense, and no person has been engaged in this necessary employment, till the last summer, when a gentleman, skilled in plants, was partially occupied in introducing the indigenous productions. Hence the number of native plants is comparatively small; as their number increases, proper and acceptable returns will be made to foreign friends.'

*Massachusetts Historical Society.*—The Massachusetts Historical Society have in the press the seventeenth volume of their collections. It will contain the Continuation of Johnson's Wonder-working Providence; notice of the early settlements in Tennessee; statistical account of the county of Hillsborough, New Hampshire; Franklin's letter to Dr. Heberden, 1759, on inoculation for the Small Pox in Boston; a series of early State Papers of Rhode Island Colony; Historical descriptions of Walpole, New Hampshire, and Bridgewater and Abington, in Mass. The article on Bridgewater gives a very particular and satisfactory account of its early history. The deed by which the famous Sachem Massasoit granted the town to its first European proprietors, is inserted.

The original deed, in the hand writing of Miles Standish, is in the possession of the writer of this article. A tract of land fourteen miles square was sold for seven coats, nine hatchets, eight hoes, twenty knives, four moose skins, and ten and a half yards of cotton. A biographical account of Ezekiel Chever, the celebrated schoolmaster; and several other tracts of general importance are also comprised in this volume. The republication of the three pamphlet numbers of Prince's Annals is a very valuable part of it. These tracts have become very scarce, especially the last of them, of which only two or three copies are known to be in this country. A few copies of Prince's Continuation have been separately printed, that those persons who own the first part may be supplied with the remainder.

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*College of the Natives in Calcutta.*—A college has been instituted in Calcutta by the natives. It was projected by them, and is entirely under their superintendence and support. These exertions argue favourably of the progress of improvement in the East. The following selection from the rules approved by the subscribers, at a meeting held August 27, 1816, give a general outline of the plan proposed.

The primary object of this institution is the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia. The college shall include a school, and an academy. The former to be established immediately—the latter as soon as may be practicable. In the school shall be taught English and Bengalee reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetick by the improved method of instruction. The Persian language may also be taught in the school, until the academy be established, as far as shall be found convenient. In the academy, besides the study of such languages as cannot be so conveniently taught in the school, instruction shall be given in history, geography, chronology, astronomy, mathematicks, and other sciences. Publick examinations shall be held at stated times, to be fixed by the managers; and students, who particularly distinguish themselves, shall receive honourary rewards. Boys, who are distinguished in the school for good conduct and proficiency, shall, at the discretion of the masters, receive further instruction in the academy, free of charge.

On the 20th of January, 1817, the school above mentioned was commenced. The number of scholars on the first day was twenty. It appears from the Calcutta Gazette, that the opening of the school was attended with a good deal of ceremony. All the managers of the college were present, comprising a large number of the most distinguished natives in Calcutta; and also, many European gen-

tlemen residing there. The Pundits testified great satisfaction on this interesting occasion; and said, that to day they witnessed the beginning of what they hoped would issue in a great diffusion of knowledge. A learned native expressed his hopes, that the Hindoo college would resemble the bur, the largest of trees, which yet is at first but a small seedling. At a meeting of the managers on February the 8th, it was ordered, that seventeen free scholars should forthwith be admitted under the patronage of the committee into the school of the institution.

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*Journal of the British Bible Society.*—A new monthly publication is projected in England by some friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which is to be devoted exclusively to the concerns of that institution, to be called the Biblical Register. It was to commence on the first of January last. The proposed plan is to contain an historical account of the society—essays on any principle or practice of the society—review of works relating to the society—memoirs, or biography of persons particularly connected with the society—home intelligence—foreign intelligence—miscellaneous matter. It is also proposed to furnish portraits of persons particularly connected with the society.

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*Encyclopædia Metropolitana.*—A new Encyclopædia was to be commenced in London on the first of January, entitled Encyclopædia Metropolitana, or Universal Dictionary of knowledge, on an original plan, comprising the twofold advantage of a philosophical and an alphabetical arrangement—with appropriate and entirely new engravings. Authentick portraits are to accompany the biographical part. It is to be comprised in twenty five volumes quarto. The writers of the prospectus complain in strong terms of the inconveniences and defects of the common plan on which works of this kind have been formed—the illjudged manner in which they have been conducted, and the total disproportion, which has always existed, between the lengths of different articles, and the importance of the subjects on which they treat. They think it also a serious objection against these works, that they are so full of speculations and conjecture. 'An Encyclopædia,' say they, 'is a *history of knowledge*, in which speculations, which can be at best but truths in the future tense, have no rightful or beseeming place. This indeed we hold to be a principle of such paramount importance, that we take the earliest opportunity of avowing our determination of a strict and systematick adherence to it;—and we have given our publick pledge, that the Encyclopædia Metropolitana shall be so far *historical* in all respects, that only what has been *established*,

or at least is already to be found in the record of science and literature, shall form the main body of every article; and that any opinions or speculations of the writer himself shall be declared to be such, and be given distinctly as a mere appendix of the article to which they belong.'

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*Drake's Age of Shakspeare.*—A work has been advertised in England, as preparing for the press, entitled Shakspeare and his times, including the biography of the poet—criticisms on his genius and writings—a disquisition on the object of his sonnets—a new chronology of his plays—and a history of the manners, customs, amusements, superstitions, poetry, and elegant literature of his age; by Nathan Drake, M. D author of Literary Hours, and of Essays on Periodical Literature. It is to be elegantly printed in two quarto volumes with a portrait.

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*University of Christiania in Norway.*—The Norwegian government has taken laudable measures to promote the study of the sciences. The university library, which, though not inconsiderable, was deficient in several departments, has received at once the sum of seven thousand pounds sterling to be appropriated for the purpose of its increase. The library has also been promised a sum annually, as soon as the finances of the state are in some measure regulated; one thousand pounds have been given for the formation of a physical and chemical cabinet, and a travelling stipend granted to the professor of physicks and chemistry, to enable him to pass some years abroad. One thousand pounds have likewise been granted to purchase astronomical instruments for the observatory at Christiania. The university has more than one hundred students, among whom there are no foreigners. The system of education is exactly the same as at the university in Copenhagen.

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*American History and Statisticks.*—We have seen the prospectus of a work, entitled, A Historical and Statistical Account of America from its first Settlement. This prospectus was published at Paris last September. Mr. Warden, the author of the proposed work, has lived ten years in that place,—some part of the time in the character of American consul. We do not think Paris the best place in the world for composing a work on the geography, history and statisticks of America; yet he tells us, that he has been favoured with rare facilities for making himself familiar with his subject, and we are led to suppose, that the world is to receive something new and interesting from his labours. He informs us, somewhat exultingly, that he has read 'thousands of newspapers and period-

ical publications.' This is all very possible, but still we shall not think the man, who has accomplished such a task, any the better qualified for writing a history of our country, unless he discover a more accurate knowledge of good English, and better judgment in selecting and arranging his topicks, than appear in this prospectus. The proposals are accompanied with an entire index to the work. It is to be printed in four volumes, and sold for nine dollars in the United States. He does not include geography in the title, but it occupies a large portion of the index. We are fully sensible of the necessity of such a work, or rather a series of works on these subjects. But we wish to have them written at home—by men who can have free access to all the requisite sources of knowledge, and who will write in a manner that will not degrade, if it does not advance our literary character.

*Circular Letter relating to Harvard University.*—The following is a circular letter, containing facts in the present state of the Seminary, designed to be sent to candidates for admission, their instructers and friends, to parents and guardians of students admitted, and to other persons who have an immediate interest in the University, or apply for information respecting it.

Admission.—Candidates for admission are examined by the President, Professors, and Tutors. No one is admitted to examination, unless he have a good moral character, certified in writing by his preceptor, or some other suitable person. To be received to the freshman class, the candidate must be thoroughly acquainted with the grammar of the Latin and Greek languages, including prosody; be able properly to construe and parse any portion of the following books, *viz.* Dalzel's Collectanea Græca Minora, the Greek Testament, Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero's Select Orations, and to translate English into Latin correctly;—he must be well versed in Ancient and Modern Geography; the fundamental rules of Arithmetick, vulgar and decimal fractions, proportion, simple and compound, single and double fellowship, alligation medial and alternate, and Algebra, to the end of simple equations, comprehending also the doctrine of roots and powers, arithmetical and geometrical progression.* Adam's Latin Grammar, the Gloucester Greek Grammar, and Cummings' Geography are used in the examination for admission.

* *An Introduction to the Elements of Algebra* has been published at Cambridge, adapted to beginners, which contains those parts of algebra above enumerated, together with several chapters upon quadratick equations, intended for those, who may have leisure and inclination to extend their inquiries on this subject. *An Elementary Treatise of Arithmetick*, soon to be published at the same place, comprehends those parts of arithmetick, which are required for admission, and will be used in examinations after 1818.

The usual time of examination for the freshman class is the Friday next after Commencement. Those, who are necessarily prevented from offering themselves at that time, may be examined at the beginning of the first term. If any one be admitted after the first Friday of October, he will be charged for advanced standing.

Persons may be admitted to advanced standing at any part of the College course, except that no one can be admitted to the senior class after the first Wednesday of December. Every one admitted to advanced standing, in addition to the requisites for the freshman class, must appear on examination to be well versed in the studies pursued by the class into which the candidate desires to enter. He must also pay into the college treasury a sum not under sixty dollars, nor exceeding one hundred, for each year's advancement, and a proportional sum for any part of a year. Any scholar, however, who has a regular dismission from another College, may be admitted to the standing, for which, on examination, he is found qualified, without any pecuniary consideration.

Before the matriculation of any one accepted on examination, a bond is to be given in his behalf in the sum of four hundred dollars, for the payment of College dues, with two satisfactory sureties, one to be an inhabitant of the State.

Commencement, when the degrees are given, is on the last Wednesday of August. There are three Terms, during which the members of the University must be present. The first or Fall term, from the first to the second vacation; the second or Spring term, from the second to the third vacation; the third or Summer term, from the third vacation to commencement.—There are three Vacations; the first, from commencement, four weeks and two days; the second, from the fourth Friday in December, seven weeks; the third, from the third Friday in May, two weeks;—the senior sophisters are allowed to be absent from the seventh Tuesday before commencement.

The Course of Instruction and Study for undergraduates, not admitted to advanced standing, comprises four years. The following are the principal authors and studies assigned to the several classes. The proportion of time devoted to each book or exercise may be nearly ascertained by the annexed table.

## FRESHMEN.

1. Collectanea Græca Majora. Dalzell. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. Titus Livius, libri v. priores, 12mo.
3. Q. Horatius Flaccus. Editio expurgata. Cantab. 12mo.
4. H. Grotius, De Veritate religionis Christianæ. 12mo.
5. Excerpta Latina. Wells, Boston. 8vo.
6. Algebra and Geometry.

7. Ancient History and Chronology.
8. Walker's Rhetorical Grammar.
9. English Grammar.
10. Adam's Roman Antiquities.

Exercises in reading, translation, and declamation.

## SOPHOMORES.

1. Continued.
5. Continued and finished.
11. Cicero de Oratore.
12. Algebra,—Trigonometry and its application to heights and distances, and Navigation.
13. Blair's Lectures on Rhetorick. 2 vols. 8vo.
14 Modern History and Chronology.
15. Hedge's Elements of Logick. 12mo.
16. Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding. 2 vols. 8vo.

Exercises in declamation and English composition once a fortnight.

## JUNIOR SOPHISTERS.

1. Continued and finished.
16. Continued and finished.
17. Iliad, Homer, Mattaire's ed. four or five books.
18. Juvenal and Persius expurg ; or equivalent part of Tacitus. Wells & Lilly, Boston. 3 vols 12mo.
19. Paley's Evidences of Christianity. 8vo.
20. Willard's Hebrew Grammar. Cambridge, 1817. 8vo.
21. No. 1 and 2 of Whiting & Watson's Hebrew Bible, or Psalter.
22. Greek Testament, critically. Griesbach's ed. Cambridge, 1809.
23. Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. Enfield. 4to.
24. Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human mind, 2 vols. 8vo.
25. Paley's Moral Philosophy. 8vo.
26. Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, and Surveying.

Publick declamations, forensick disputes once a month—themes once a fortnight.

N. B. Instead of 20, 21, those above twenty one years of age, and others, on the written request of their parent or guardian, may attend to Mathematicks with the private Instructer, or Greek and Latin, or French.

## SENIOR SOPHISTERS.

23. Continued.
24. Continued.
27. Conic Sections and Spheric Geometry.

28. Chemistry.
29. Natural and Politick Law. Burlamaqui. 2 vols. 8vo.
30. Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy.—Political Economy.
31. Butler's Analogy of Religion to the constitution and course of nature. 8vo.

Declamations, forensicks, and themes, the two first terms as in the junior year.

*Table of private exercises.*

FRESHMEN.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Morning exercise. | Monday to Saturday, inclusive. | Greek and Latin. | Through the year. |
| Forenoon. | Monday to Friday. | Algebra & Geom. | 1st and 2d terms, and 8 weeks of 3d term. |
| | | English Gramm. | 4 weeks of 3d term. |
| " | Saturday. | Declamat'n, Hist. & Antiquities. | Through the year. |
| Afternoon. | Monday to Friday. | Greek and Latin. | Through the year. |

SOPHOMORES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Morning. | Monday to Saturday | Greek and Latin. | Through the year. |
| Forenoon. | Monday to Friday. | Greek and Latin. | 1st term. |
| | | Rhetorick. | 2d term. |
| | | Mathematicks. | 3d term. |
| " | Saturday. | History, & Declamation or English composition. | Through the year. |
| After noon. | Monday to Friday. | Geometry, | 1st and 2d terms. |
| | | Log & Intel. Phil. | 3d term. |

JUNIORS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Morning | Monday to Saturday. | Metaphysicks. | 1st term. |
| | | Natural Philos. | 2d and 3d term. |
| Forenoon. | Monday, Tuesday, & Wednesday. | Theology. | 1st term. |
| | | Heb. or substitute. | 2d term. |
| | | Mathematicks | 3d term. |
| " | Thursday. | Forensicks or Themes. | Through the year. |
| Afternoon. | Monday to Thursday. | Greek & Latin. | 1st and 2d terms. |
| | | Moral Philosophy. | 1st 7 weeks of 3d term. |
| | | Greek Testament. | last 5 weeks of 3d term. |

SENIORS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Morning. | Monday to Friday. | Mathemat. & Chem. | 1st and half 2d term. |
| | | Moral & Polit. Phil. | Half 2d and 3d term. |
| Forenoon. | Monday, Tuesday, & Wednes. | Astronomy. | 1st term. |
| | | Theology. | 2d term. |
| " | Thursday. | Forensicks or Themes | 1st and 2d terms. |
| Afternoon. | Monday to Thursday. | Moral & Polit. Phil. | 1st term. |
| | | Intellectual Philos. | 2d term to April. |

The Instructer of French and Spanish attends two days in the week, to give lessons to such members of each class as desire to learn either or both of those languages—and three days in the week on such as pursue French as a substitute for Hebrew.

N. B. The following is the rule of the Immediate Government in respect to candidates for *advanced standing*, who may have pursued their studies in a different order from that which is observed in this Seminary.

'Whereas, in consequence of the different order of studies in different Colleges, candidates from other Colleges for advanced standing in this, while deficient in some branches, may yet have anticipated others; so that on the whole they have learned an equal amount of the studies of this Seminary, with the class, for admission to which they apply; in such cases the Immediate Government will receive the anticipated, for the deficient studies. Provided, however, no studies shall be received in compensation but such as form a part of the course at this College; and that the candidate have so much knowledge in each department, as to be able to go on with the class. And the applicant shall be admitted only on condition that he afterwards make up such deficient studies, to the satisfaction of the Government upon examination; and should he neglect so to do, his connexion with the University shall be forfeited. Candidates from such a distance, as renders it difficult to obtain a knowledge of the exact order of studies at this College, shall be entitled to the privilege of the foregoing rule.'

Where persons have been led by circumstances to pursue their preparatory studies in approved text books other than those in use here, they will be examined accordingly.

Lectures, distinct from private exercises, are delivered to the whole college, or to one or more classes, or a select number of undergraduates or graduates, by the several Professors;—on Divinity, to the whole college, part of every Lord's Day;—on Sacred Criticism, Philology, Rhetorick & Oratory, and Physicks, Friday at 10 o'clock, and Saturday at 9 o'clock;—on Intellectual Philosophy—on Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity at times to be appointed;—on Astronomy, on Mineralogy and Geology, three forenoons in a week first term of the senior year. A full course of experimental Philosophy; of Chemistry; and a course of Anatomy, with preparations; a limited number on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, and the lectures of the Royall Professor of Law are given, three or four times a week, in each department, between the first of April and the middle of July. The course of Botany is twice a week, between the first Wednesday in April and the seventh Friday before Commencement, and of Zoology weekly the rest of the year. Besides these are the

Dexter Lectures, occasionally given, on Biblical Criticism; those on the History and Polity of our churches, and those given to graduates and to students in the learned professions.

Besides the recitations and literary exercises before stated, there is a publick examination of each class in the third term, and a publick exhibition of performances in composition and elocution, and in the mathematical sciences three times a year; the Bowdoin prize dissertations read in the Chapel the third term, the collection of theses to be printed at Commencement, the performances of Commencement day, and the speaking for Boylston prizes the day after.

An attendance is permitted on such teachers of polite accomplishments, as are approved by the authority of the College.

DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES, AND THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY. The members of the College attend prayers and the reading of the Scriptures in the Chapel every morning and evening, when the President, or in his absence, a Professor or Tutor officiates;—and the religious services of the Christian Sabbath in the University Chapel, which are conducted by the President, who preaches on one part of the day; and by the Hollis Professor of Divinity, who delivers a lecture on the other part. There is a University church of the Congregational order, in which the ordinances are administered, and of which the officers last mentioned are the ministers.

Any undergraduate, who is above twenty one years of age, and has been brought up to attend publick worship at an Episcopal church, who proposes to attend statedly on that service in Cambridge, on signifying in writing the fact, and his desire to the President, may have leave so to attend.—Any one under age, who has been accustomed to worship at an Episcopal church, may have leave to attend statedly upon that service in Cambridge, provided it be the desire of his parent or guardian, signified in the manner aforesaid.

The College CHARGES are made in four quarter bills, of which the annual amount, to those not beneficiaries, is as follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| Steward | $10 |
| Board in commons 38 weeks of term time at about $3 per week | 114 |
| Room rent | 12 |
| Instruction two first years, $46 each year, third year 64, fourth year 74—average | 57·50 |
| Librarian, repairs, lecture rooms, and catalogues and contingences | 8 |
| Wood | 16 |
| Books used in the classes | 15 |
| | 232·50 |

The room rent and wood are estimated upon the condition that two students live in a College room, and divide the expense. The rent of a room in a private house, near the College, is about fifty dollars a year; and the price of a room and board in a family from four to six dollars a week.

The foregoing charge for instruction is the whole expense under this head, and gives a student access to the lectures and recitations of the various professors and instructers, including French and Spanish, with the following exceptions, viz. For the lectures of the Professor of natural history, on which attendance is voluntary, the fee is six dollars for the first course of Botany—for a second course four, and for Zoology nine dollars a year. The attendance on the private Instructer in Mathematicks, which is also optional, is a separate charge, at the rate of seven dollars and fifty cents a quarter.

The principal part of the other expenses of a student, such as clothes and allowance of spending money, so far as the reputation, morals, improvement and happiness of the pupil are concerned, can be estimated by the judicious. The authority and influence of those entrusted with the government of the seminary are anxiously exerted to prevent extravagance, and to discountenance the culpable and pernicious emulation in expense, which may sometimes appear in particular members of the society. Still much will depend in this respect on the course adopted by the parent, as well as on the character of the pupil. To provide an additional security, the following law, requiring the appointment of a patron, has been passed.

'Whereas students from distant places, wanting the particular advice and control of friends, are liable to unnecessary and improper expenses, every student, not of this Commonwealth, shall have some gentleman of the College or of the vicinity, approved, and if the parent or guardian desire, appointed by the President, who shall have charge of the funds, and superintend the expenses of said student, and without whose permission he shall not contract debts, on the penalty of dismission from the College or other punishment.'

Graduates of this and other Colleges of good character are permitted to reside at the University for the purposes of study, and have access to the Library and Lectures.

The Theological Seminary of the University was established by the Corporation and Overseers, assisted by the Society for promoting Theological Education at the University.—Graduates of any publick College or University, of suitable character, may reside at the University as students in divinity.

They are to be recommended to the Corporation by the President and Hollis Professor of Divinity; and when their distance or other circumstances require, to produce proper testimonials.

Applications are to be made in person or by letter to the President, or Professor of Divinity, or to the Registrar of the University.

The pecuniary assistance, at the disposal of the Corporation and Trustees of the Society, for the benefit of theological students, is to be applied, first to those alone, whose characters, abilities, and improvements afford the promise of usefulness; and secondly, with a regard to what their circumstances make necessary to enable them to devote their whole time, or the greatest part of it, to their preparation for the ministry.

It is understood that a faithful use of their advantages, and an exemplary conduct, are indispensable conditions of their receiving the aid of the Institution.

Instructions and Exercises.—The theological students are to attend the religious services of the College Chapel, as well as to have devotional exercises with each other. They have access to the publick lectures of the several professors in Cambridge and in Boston, on the moral and physical sciences. The theological and ethical studies are divided into three annual courses, corresponding to three classes, and are superintended by gentlemen in different offices in the University, or members of the Corporation or Overseers, whose lectures and exercises the students are to attend, as follows. In the Evidences of Revelation, Christian Theology, and the interpretation of the Scriptures, by the President and Hollis Professor of Divinity. The Hebrew and Greek Old Testament, by the Professor of Hebrew and the Greek Professor. Elements of Biblical Criticism, by the Dexter Lecturer. Composition of Sermons, and Pulpit Oratory, by the Boylston Professor of Rhetorick. On Ecclesiastical Polity, and especially the History and Constitution of the American and New England Churches, by the Rev. Dr. Holmes. The Pastoral Office, by the Rev. W. E. Channing. Intellectual Philosophy, by the Professor of Logick and Metaphysicks. Natural Religion and Ethicks, by the Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity.

A Law School is established at the University, under the superintendence of the University Professor of Law.

Candidates for admission to the Law School must be graduates of some College, or qualified by the rules of the Courts to become students at law, and of good moral character. They will be required to give bond for the payment of quarterly dues, including the fee for instruction, which is not to exceed one hundred dollars annually. Those who desire it, will be furnished with commons on the same terms as other members of the University; and, as far as possible, with lodging rooms. They will be allowed to attend, free of expense, the Lectures of the Royall Professor of Law,

the private Lectures on Intellectual and on Moral and Political Philosophy designed for graduates; also the publick Lectures of the Professors generally, comprising the courses on Theology, Rhetorick and Oratory, Philology, natural and experimental Philosophy and Astronomy, Anatomy, Chemistry and Mineralogy, and other branches relating to Physical science. The Law students are to have access to the University library, on the same conditions as resident graduates, as well as to the Law library, which shall be established.

A Degree of Bachelor of Laws is instituted in the University, to be conferred on such students as shall have remained at least eighteen months at the University School, and passed the residue of their novitiate in a manner approved. Applications in writing or in person may be made to the Registrar of the University, or to the President, or to the Professor of Law.

In the Medical School, the lectures for Medical students are delivered at the Massachusetts Medical College of Harvard University in Boston; they commence annually on the third Wednesday in Nov. and continue for three months. Students, before attending the lectures, are to be matriculated by entering their names with the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. The degree of Doctor of Medicine is given twice a year, viz. at the close of the Lectures, and at the publick Commencement in August. Candidates must pass a satisfactory private examination, and at a publick examination read and defend a dissertation. Before being admitted to private examination, the candidate must have attended two courses of lectures in the Medical College on each of the following subjects, viz. Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry, and the Theory and Practice of Physick,—he must have employed three years in professional studies under the direction of a regular practitioner, including the time occupied in attending the lectures. If not educated at the University, he must satisfy the Faculty of his knowledge of Latin and experimental Philosophy. He shall be examined upon the following branches, viz. Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, Midwifery, Surgery and the Theory and Practice of Medicine. The students, during the lectures, have access to the Medical College Library of 4000 vols. and the Boylston Medical Library, Cambridge; and they have opportunities of seeing practice. The fees for the lectures are as follows;—for the course on Anatomy and Surgery $20, Chemistry and the Theory and Practice of Physick $15 each, Materia Medica and Midwifery, each $10. The fee for the Degree of M. D. to one who has not taken a degree at any University or College is $20, to a Bachelor of Arts $15, to a Master of Arts $10.

The officers of the University, concerned in the instruction or immediate administration, are a President, one or more Professors

in each of the following branches; Divinity, Law, Theory and Practice of Medicine, Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry and Mineralogy, the Greek language, Greek literature, Latin language and literature, French and Spanish languages and literature, Hebrew and other oriental languages, Natural History, Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Intellectual Philosophy, Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity, Rhetorick and Oratory, Belles Lettres, the Rumford Professor on the application of the Mathematical and Physical sciences to the useful arts, a Lecturer on Sacred Criticism, on Ecclesiastical history and polity, on Materia Medica, on Obstetricks, two Tutors in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, a Librarian, Instructer in French and Spanish, Regent, Proctors and Registrar.

JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND, *Pres't.*

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*New European Publications.*—The following work is announced as shortly to appear in Russia, viz. The History of Russia, in 8 vols. by Mr. Karamsin, Historiographer of the empire.

A new edition is now publishing at Paris of the *Tableaux Historiques de la Revolution Francaise*, with important additions and alterations. The new edition will be contained in 2 vols. folio, with 220 splendid portraits, and sold at 400 francs.

A Dictionary of the Medical Sciences is now publishing in Paris, by a Society of Physicians and Surgeons. The work has advanced to the 20th volume, in 8vo. In connection with it is published the *Medical Flora*, each number of which consists of four engraved and coloured plates of plants, with a description, and an account of the uses of each. The plates are executed with great exactness and elegance.

A second and improved edition in French, of Simond's Travels in England, has been published at Paris, with 15 plates and 13 vignettes.

There are now publishing in Paris two editions of the whole works of Voltaire—one by M. Desoer, in 12 vols. 8vo, and the other by Madame Perronneau, in 50 vols. 12mo. The edition of Kehl is in 66 vols.

There is now publishing at Paris, a Dictionary of the Natural Sciences, to be completed in 30 vols. 8vo, by several Professors of the Principal Schools at Paris. The eighth volume, which is the last published, contains many articles by Cuvier, and other distinguished naturalists.

M. Schoel, Counsellor of the Prussian Embassy in France, is publishing at Paris, an abridged History of the Treaties of Peace between the powers of Europe, from the peace of Westphalia to the treaty of Paris, of November 20th, 1815. This work was com-

menced by the late M. Koch, Professor of Publick Law at the University of Strasburgh; but has been remodelled and continued by the present editor. It is to be completed in 12 vols. 8vo, seven of which coming down to the year 1815, are already published.

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*New Editions of Foreign Works, published in the United States during the last four months.*

Elegant Extract, vol. i. and ii. to be completed in 12 vols. from Sharp's edition, 12mo. New York.

Lectures on the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician, Philadelphia.

Biographical Sketches of the Literary Life of S. T. Coleridge, by himself, 12mo. $1,25, New York.

The Welsh Mountaineers, a novel, by Catherine Hunter, 2 vols. 12mo. $2, Philadelphia.

An Original collection of the Poems of Ossian, Orann, Ullin, &c.

Notes on a Journey in America, from Virginia to the Illinois, &c. by Morris Birkbeck, 12mo $1, Philadelphia.

The Speeches of Charles Phillips, Esq. Edited by himself, second American edition, $1,25, Philadelphia.

Outline of the Revolution in South America, by a South American, 12mo. $1, New York.

La Coalition et la France, Georgetown, Col.

Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, reputed to be by Sir Robert Wilson, New York.

France, by Lady Morgan, third edition, with plates, 8vo. Philadelphia.

Gethsemane, or thoughts on the sufferings of Christ, 87½ cents, Baltimore.

The Remains of the Rev Richard Cecil, 75 cents, New York.

Cœlebs Deceived, a novel, 75 cents, New York.

The Modern Practice of Physick, by Robert Thomas, abridged by Drs. Currie and Candie of Philadelphia, $3, Philadelphia.

Hume's Philosophical Essays, with Campbell on Miracles, edited by Thomas Ewell, M. D. 8vo. 2 vols. $7, Georgetown.

Aunt Mary's Tales, 75 cents, New York.

The Devotions of Bishop Andrews, translated from the Greek, by Dean Stanhope.

Nicholson's Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 8vo. 6 vols. with 160 engravings, $24, Philadelphia.

Orfila's Toxicology, or Treatise on Poisons, abridged and partly translated by Joseph G. Nancrede, M. D. Philadelphia.

The Balance of Comfort, a novel, by Mrs Ross, author of Paired, not Matched, 2 vols. 12mo. $1,75, Philadelphia.

Memoirs of the Duke de Sully, 5 vols. 8vo. $11, Philadelphia.

Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, 3 vols. 8vo. $10, Philadelphia.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D. late Vice Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal, by the Rev. H. Pearson, 8vo. $2,75, Philadelphia.

A Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation and Gun-shot wounds, by John Hunter, Philadelphia.

Journal of Science and the Arts. Nos. 1, 2, and 3, $1,50, each number, New York.

The Knight of St. John, a romance, by Miss Anna Maria Porter, 2 vols. 12mo. $2, Philadelphia.

Another Edition of the same work, New York.

Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. Charles Buck, by John Stiles, D. D. $1,13, Philadelphia.

The Principles and Practice of the High Court of Chancery, by Henry Maddock, Esq. New York.

The New Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, by Abraham Rees, D. D. F. R. S. vol. xxxvi. Part II. 4to. $4 each half volume to subscribers, Philadelphia.

Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803, by Joseph Forsyth, Esq 8vo. $2,50, Boston.

A Dictionary of Select and Popular Quotations, by D. E. Macdonnel, second American Edition, with additions, Philadelphia.

The White Cottage, a tale, 12mo. $1, Philadelphia.

The Itinerant, or Memoirs of an Actor, Part Second, by S. W. Ryley, 12mo. 3 vols. $3, Philadelphia.

Pious Lectures, on the Principles of the Cotholick Religion, translated from Lhomond, by James Appleton, 12mo $1,50, Philad.

Useful knowledge, by Rev. William Bingley, 3 vols. 12mo. bound, $5, Philadelphia.

A Guide to Health, by S. Solomons, M. D. $1, Philadelphia.

The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, by Philip Doddridge, D. D. third New York edition, sterotype, $1,25.

Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, in Reply to Mr. Warden, 12mo. 75 cents, New York.

A Journal of the proceedings of the Embassy to China, under Lord Amherst, by Henry Ellis, Esq. with a map of the country. 8vo $2,50, Philadelphia.

Mandeville, a tale of the Seventeenth Century, by William Godwin, 12mo. 2 vols. $1,75, Philadelphia.

The Chemical Catechism, by Samuel Parkes, from the sixth London Edition, Philadelphia.

An Outline of Mineralogy and Geology, by William Phillips, Philadelphia.

Thompson's Chemistry, a new edition, 8vo. 4 vols. $17, Philad.

Zion's Pilgrim, by Dr. Hawker, 75 cents, Baltimore.

Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, by T. Davies, 12mo. 2 vols. $2,50, Boston.

Characters of Shakspeare's Plays, by William Hazlitt, 12mo. $1,25, Boston.

Rosabella, or a Mother's Marriage, a novel, by the author of the Romance of the Pyrennes &c. 3 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia.

*Publication proposed.*

Wilson's Ornithology, a new edition with additions, in ten numbers, at $8 per number, Philadelphia.

*American Works published during the last two months.*

*Biography.*

Memoirs of Alexander, Emperour of all the Russias, by Edward Gibson, with an appendix, by Paul Allen, Esq. 87½ cents, Baltimore.

*Geography and Topography.*

A Geographical Dictionary, or Universal Gazetteer, Ancient and Modern, by J. E. Worcester, A. M. 2 vols. royal 8vo. pp. 1924, $8, Salem.

A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, by Charles Shaw, Esq. 12mo. pp. 312, $1,25, Boston.

A new Map of the State of Indiana, by the Hon. C. Harrison, with the Surveys of the Illinois Territory, by Gen. Mansfield, $2, Philadelphia.

*Natural History.*

Florula Ludoviciana, or Flora of Louisiana, translated, revised, and improved, from the French of C. C. Robin, by C. S. Rafinesque, $1, New York.

A View of the Cultivation of Fruit Trees, with 200 engravings of fruits, by William Coxe, Esq. of Burlington, N. J. 8vo. $3,25, Philadelphia.

Index to the Geology of the Northern States, with a transverse section from Catskill mountain to the Atlantick, by Amos Eaton, A. M. 8vo. 75 cents, Leicester.

*Medicine.*

A Compendium of the Theory and Practice of Midwifery, by Samuel Bard, M. D. L. L. D. 8vo. $3, New York.

Pharmacopœia Chirurgica, or Manual of Chemical Pharmacy, by J. Wilson, with translations, notes, and illustrations, by William Meade, M. D. 12mo. $1,25, Philadelphia.

Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind, by Benjamin Rush, M. D. &c. 2d Edition, 8vo. Philadelphia.

A Treatise on Surgical Diseases and the Operations suited to them, by Baron Boyer, translated from the French, by Alexander H. Stevens, M. D. with notes and an appendix, by the Translator, 4 vols. in 2, $6, New York.

The Aphorisms of Hippocrates, with a translation, by Elias Marks, M. D. 75 cents, New York.

*Law.*

The Constitutions of all the States, a new edition, $1,50, Lexington, Ken.

The Opinion of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, in the case of the Trustees of Dartmouth College vs. Wm. H. Woodward, Esq. Pronounced at the November Term, Grafton, 1817; 17 cents, Concord.

Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, with some select cases at Nisi Prius, by the Hon. Jasper Yates, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, vol. ii. 8vo. Philadelphia.

Practice of the High Court of Chancery, by John Newland, with notes, &c. adapted to the Court of Chancery of the State of New York, 8vo. Albany.

The Laws of the State of Vermont, to the year 1816, vol. iii. 8vo. Burlington.

*Divinity.*

Theology Explained and Defended, in a series of Sermons, by Timothy Dwight, D. D. L. L. D. late President of Yale College, with a Memoir of the Life of the Author, in 5 vols. vol. i. 8vo. New Haven.

A Concise View of the principal points in controversy, between the Protestant and Roman Churches, by Dr. Wharton, of Burlington, N. J. Philadelphia.

*Education.*

A Treatise on Surveying, containing the Theory and Practice, by John Gummere, Second Edition, improved, Philadelphia.

The Christian Orator, a collection of Speeches before Benevolent Societies, 12mo. $1,25, Charlestown.

The Essence of English Grammar, by Samuel Houston, A. B. Principal of Rural Valley Seminary, Rockbridge, Vir. 12mo. pp. 48, Harrisonburgh.

An Easy Grammar of Geography, with an Atlas of seven Maps, by Jacob Willets, Fourth Edition, 75 cents, Hartford.

A Balance Chart, exhibiting the Balance of a Merchant's Ledger, by James Bennett, New York.

An Introduction to the Elements of Algebra, designed for the use of those who are acquainted only with first principles of Arithmetick, selected from the Algebra of Euler, 8vo. pp. 216, Cambridge, Hilliard & Metcalf.

The Material Creation, being a compendious system of Universal Geography, by Herman Mann, 12mo. pp. 348, Dedham.

*Occasional Discourses.*

A Thanksgiving Sermon, Preached Nov. 13, 1817, by Rev. James Milnor, 25 cents, New York.

An Address, delivered before the Superintendants of Sunday Schools, by Rev. James Milnor, 25 cents, New York.

The Migration of the Pilgrims, and of their Posterity, an Address before the New England Society in Philadelphia, by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, A. M. 25 cents, Philadelphia.

Introductory Lecture on Natural Philosophy, by Benjamin Dewitt, M. D. Professor of Natural Philosophy, in the University of the State of New York.

An Oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Cambridge, at their Anniversary, Aug. 28, 1817, by William Crafts, jr. Second Edition, 25 cents, Charleston, S. C.

An Address on Physical Science, and particularly the Science of Chemistry, delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina, by Timothy Ford, Esq. 50 cts. Charleston.

A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Balch, jr. at Georgetown, by the Rev. Dr. Mins, Georgetown, D. C.

Address to the Massachusetts Peace Society at their Second Anniversary, December 25, 1817, by the Hon. Thomas Dawes, Boston.

An Address delivered before the New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society in New York, by John McVickar, Coll. Col. Professor, New York.

*Miscellaneous.*

The British Spy, Sixth Edition, New York.

A Review of Duer's Letter to Colden, 37½ cents, New York.

A Narrative of President Monroe's Tour in the Summer of 1817, 12mo. $1, Philadelphia.

A View of the Principal Causes that have produced the advance of the Stock of United States Bank, by Matthew Carey, Second Edition, 25 cents, Philadelphia.

The Official Army Register for the year 1818, Washington.

The Official Navy Register, for the year 1818, Washington.

The Domestick Manufacturer's Assistant, and Family Directory, in the Arts of Weaving and Dyeing, by J. & R. Bronson, $1,50, Hartford.

The Distiller, by Harrison Hall, Second Edition, 8vo. $3,25, Philadelphia.

*Poetry.*

An Essay on American Poetry, with several Miscellaneous Pieces, Sentimental, Descriptive, Moral and Patriotick, by Solyman Brown, A. M. New Haven.

*An attempt to ascertain at which three hours of the day the thermometer will give nearly the mean temperature. By Professor Dewey.*

A great number of *thermometrical* observations and results have been published. But very little use has been made of them, and, on account of the manner in which the observations have been made, they are likely to prove of little service. So different have been the hours of observation at different places, that only a very uncertain estimate of the relative temperature of places can be made. The advantages to be derived from records of the temperature, can but in small part be realized in the present method. A change seems important. It needs no reflection to be convinced that some hours will give a result much nearer the true mean temperature than others. Though the *true mean* will probably not be ascertained, yet a near approximation may be found by selecting the proper hours. Which hours these are can be determined only by observations. But so far as I can learn, no attempt has been made till the present; and, so great is the task, it will not be often repeated. At the present time the observations are made at very different hours in our country. The following may be mentioned, viz. 7 A. M. and 2 and 9 P. M. at the University of Cambridge, at Williams, Bowdoin, and Middlebury Colleges;—the supposed coldest and warmest times of the day at Yale College;—6 A. M. and 6 P. M. or, sunrise and sunset in many places; 8 A. M. and 1 and 6 P. M. are proposed by the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, as well as the use of Six's Self-registering Thermometer. The Royal Society, London, seem to make their observations at 8 A. M and 3 P. M. in five colder months, and at 7 A. M and 3 P. M. in seven warmer months. The hours, 7 A. M. and 2 and 9 P. M. have been more extensively adopted probably than any others. The above variety of hours shows the importance of a change. Although it may be doubtful, whether the same *two* or *three* hours would give a mean equally near the *true*, at all places; there cannot be a doubt, it would be nearer the truth than can be obtained in the present method. Can not meteorologists be uniform in their hours of observing the thermometer? Either of the *three* following plans, if they would adopt it, would be preferable to the present. 1. The selection of the *same two or three* hours, or of sunrise and sunset. The object would not be to obtain nearly the mean temperature, but results, from which a comparison of the temparatures at different places might be made. This plan will not, probably, be adopted, because most observers desire to obtain the mean temperature. 2. The use of the Self-registering thermometer, from whose *maxima* and *minima* of temperature a mean near the true would probably be obtained. The ease of

making the observations strongly recommends this plan. The liability of this kind of thermometers to need repair, or to be inaccurate, is an objection. 3. The choice of 7 A. M. and 2 and 9 P. M. which appear from the following results to give nearly the true mean. On several accounts this seems to be the best plan.

To get the *mean temperature* of the day, I took observations at the beginning of *each* of the *twenty four* hours, and, assisted by several members of the College, upon whose accuracy and fidelity I could depend, continued the observations for at least *five days* in succession. I give you several of the results. The *first* series commenced with March 25th, 1816;
the *second* - - - - April 1st;
the *third* - - - July 23d;
the *fourth* - - - Oct. 28th; [five days;
the *fifth* - - - Jan. 23d, 1817; and each continued
and the *sixth* embraces 10 days in Jan. and Feb. 1817.

| | Mean of the 24 obs. | Mean of 7 A. M. & 2 & 9 P. M. | Mean of 6 A. M. & 2 & 9 P. M. | Mean of 8 A. M. & 1 & 10 P. M. | Mean of highest & lowest. | Mean of highest & lowest means. | Mean of 6 A. M. & 6 P. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First series | 39.05 | 40.01 | 39.18 | 39.75 | 38.86 | 40.12 | 38.29 |
| Second | 41.75 | 42.77 | 41.67 | 43.27 | 41.67 | 42.97 | 40.28 |
| Third | 64.35 | 65.31 | 64.23 | 65.51 | 65.37 | 65.11 | 63.32 |
| Fourth | 47.69 | 48.69 | 48.65 | 49.16 | 48.08 | 49.98 | 48.65 |
| Fifth | 18.05 | 18.45 | 18.68 | 18.88 | 17.55 | 17.81 | 16.23 |
| Sixth | 14.66 | 15.58 | 15.63 | 15.93 | 14.35 | 15.28 | 13.15 |
| Four days in Feb not in the preceding | 9.32 | 10.25 | | | 8.07 | | |

The series of observations were more numerous in winter, because it was the opinion of several gentlemen that the results in winter must be different from those in the other seasons. This opinion was very plausible, because the highest and lowest temperature of the day is at different hours in winter and summer. And the reason why the result so nearly agrees with the others is doubtless this, that in winter the temperature at 9 P. M. is several degrees nearer the mean of 7 A. M. and 2 P. M. than at the other seasons. This has been ascertained by Professors Farrar and Cleaveland, and also at this place. As the highest temperature is sometimes between two and three, and sometimes between one and two, had the *highest* been noted, instead of that at the beginning of these hours, the results in the fifth column would have been a little greater, than they are there given. The result of various other hours might be given.

*Williams College, Dec.* 16, 1817.

*Abstract of meteorological observations, taken at Cambridge for December,* 1817 *and January* 1818. *By Professor Farrar.*

| | | Barometer. | | | Thermometer. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 7 A. M. | 2 P. M. | 9 P. M. | 7 A. M. | 2 P. M. | 9 P. M. |
| December | G. | 30.61 | 30.60 | 30.61 | 45° | 52° | 55° |
| | M. | 30.023 | 30.022 | 30 023 | 27.29 | 35.32 | 29.19 |
| | L. | 29.41 | 29.48 | 29.19 | 6 | 13 | 8 |
| January | G. | 30.51 | 30.51 | 30 59 | 35 | 48 | 56 |
| | M. | 30.029 | 30.007 | 30.0 8 | 19.03 | 28.3 | 19.0 |
| | L. | 29.52 | 29.52 | 29.28 | —12 | 1 | 1 |

Rain and melted snow in December - - - 4.49 inches.
do. - - - January - - - 2.76
Whole quantity of snow about one foot.

On the 20th of December, when the thermometer was 15° at Cambridge, it was down to 5° at Lexington, Kentucky; and on the 21st when it was at 16° at Cambridge, it was within a degree of zero at Lexington.

*Abstract of Meteorological Observations, taken at Brunswick. By Professor Cleaveland.*

*October,* 1817.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mean monthly temp. from three observations each day | | 45.18° |
| do. do. do. from maxima of heat and cold | | 42.80 |
| Greatest heat - - - - - | | 67.50 |
| Greatest cold - - - - - | | 16.25 |
| Mean height of the Barometer | 29.869 in. | |
| Greatest monthly range of do. | 1.440 | |
| Quantity of rain, | 2.550 | |
| Days entirely or chiefly fair | 20 | |
| do. do. do. cloudy | 11 | |

Directions of the winds in proportional numbers, viz.
S. W 15.—N. W. 11.—W. 6.—N. E. 4.—S. 5.—S. E. 3.—N. 1.
The prevailing forms of the clouds have been the *cirro-cumuli* and *cumuli*, until near the latter part of the month, when the *cirro-stratus* was predominent.—Thunder on the 12th, and a very little snow on the 28th.

*November.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mean monthly temp. from three observations each day | | 37.17° |
| do. do. do. from maxima of heat and cold | | 35.76 |
| Greatest heat - - - - - | | 60.00 |
| Greatest cold - - - - - | | 2.25 |
| Mean height of the Barometer - | 29.870 in. | |
| Greatest monthly range of do. - | .920 | |
| Quantity of rain, and snow reduced to water | 4.800 | |

Days entirely or chiefly fair 18
do. do. do. cloudy 12

Directions of the winds in proportional numbers, viz. S. W. 14 —N. W. 12—N. E. 9—W. 4—N. 3—S. 3.

The *Cirro-stratus* has been the predominant form of the clouds, often accompanied with the *Nimbus* or *Stratus*.

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Errata.—p. 313, read 'to organize the militia and *put* the colony in a state of defence'—p. 317, line 9, for 'resemblance' read 'semblance'—line 3, from the bottom, for 'souls' read 'soul'—p. 323, line 9, for 'name' read 'names'—p. 360, line 32, for 'corrections' read 'correctness'—p. 379, line 11, for 'same' read 'some.'